

Oppose U.S. adventure to provoke incident with Iraq

Moves are parallel to 'preemptive' bipartisan assault on rights

The *Militant* urges all working people and youth to oppose U.S. imperialism's new adventure aimed at creating a provocative incident against the government of Iraq. The object of the U.S. rulers is to manufacture a justification for broader military action against Baghdad in order to pursue their long-sought goal of toppling the regime of Saddam Hussein.

The course outlined in the presidential order directing the CIA to expand operations against Baghdad and raising the pros-

pect of Special Forces operations in northern Iraq can never bring down the government there, a fact that is admitted by top U.S. government officials. Instead, it is another provocation, and an imperialist intervention into a sovereign country.

There is an urgency in Washington's campaign, as its European imperialist rivals are moving to expand economic ties with Iraq, as well as neighboring Iran. Both countries have been declared part of the "axis of evil" by the Bush administration.

One of the goals of the U.S. rulers in their brutal assault on Iraq in 1990-91 was to deal some blows to their imperialist competitors and firm up their hold on Mideast oil supplies. But unless Washington can make palpable progress in overthrowing the government in Iraq and replacing it with one to its liking, France, Germany, and other imperialist powers will make their

EDITORIAL

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Students in New Zealand walk out to back teachers

BY TERRY LYNCH

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—"A new subject was added to the school curriculum today—protesting." That's how a June 14 Radio New Zealand news bulletin began its report on an unprecedented wave of classroom walkouts, marches, and rallies by tens of thousands of high school students that erupted across the country.

The student actions followed a June 10 announcement by the Post Primary Teachers Association (PPTA) that 75 percent of its members had rejected the government's latest pay offer in a national ballot. The high school teachers' union said that it would implement a ban on after-school and weekend sports and cultural activities as the next step in the teachers' 14-month fight for a contract.

Initial media reports sought to portray the students' actions as protests against the teachers' pay campaign, using the fact that some students were responding to the disruption to student sports events and cultural activities that the teachers' ban would entail. However, as the spontaneous actions snowballed nationwide, placards and chants on the demonstrations soon made it overwhelmingly clear that the high school students supported the teachers' pay demands, and that their anger was directed at the government.

"Now we know our ABC, give our teach-
Continued on Page 2

own inroads in the region. The U.S. rulers are deadly serious about their "right" to take "preemptive action" against any country around the world that they declare to be planning to build or deploy weapons of mass destruction. On June 12 president Bush told a meeting of the Homeland Security Advisory Council that Washington is "just going to have to enforce

the doctrine, either you're with us or you're against us. You join the coalition of freedom, or you're on the other side of the tracks." For those on the wrong side of the tracks, he said, Washington's forces will "run them down, wherever they try to hide, and bring them to justice." He boasted that "our coalition has hauled in about 2,400 of

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Workers in Germany stage first construction strike in 50 years



Workers leave a construction site at the French embassy in Berlin at the start of the strike June 17. The walkout spread throughout the week.

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Thousands of construction workers in Germany walked off the job June 17 in Hamburg, Berlin, and other cities demanding a 4.6 percent pay hike. The la-

bor action organized by the construction trade union IG Bau was the first walkout in the industry in more than 50 years.

The union is demanding the wage hike
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Meeting celebrates new French edition of 'History of American Trotskyism'

BY AL CAPPE
AND BRIAN WILLIAMS

MONTREAL—"Today we are celebrating the publication for the first time in French of one of the classic books of the communist movement: James P. Cannon's *History of American Trotskyism 1928-1938: Report of a Participant*," stated Michel Prairie, director of the French-language publishing program for Pathfinder Press, at a June 15 celebration here. The French title of the book is *L'histoire du trotskyisme américain 1928-1938: le rapport d'un participant*.

The book is not solely about the past, noted Prairie, but about how best to take advantage of the openings that exist today to build proletarian parties as part of an international communist movement.

Some 75 people attended the meeting, held at the hall of the Greek Workers' Association. Participants traveled to the event from Quebec City, Toronto, and Vancouver, as well as New York, Massachusetts, Washington, D.C., Pennsylvania, New Jersey,

California, and Paris. Among those who participated were members of the Communist League and Young Socialists in Canada, an activist in the Haitian community in Montreal, a student from Niger in West Africa, a worker from the Congo who is currently living in Toronto, and Socialist Workers Party and YS members from the United States.

The theme of the meeting was summed up in a banner hanging behind the speakers platform that read, "Build the Communist League and Young Socialists. Build the world communist movement." In addition to hearing a panel of speakers, participants enjoyed an excellent post-meeting dinner and dance.

The fact that the meeting was taking place in Quebec, home to millions of French-speaking members of the Quebecois nationality, represented an important milestone for the political work of the Communist League and Young Socialists. Having po-

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Millions in Cuba: 'Our revolution is here to stay'

BY GREG McCARTAN

Millions of Cubans joined 800 marches across the island June 12 to back a constitutional amendment declaring the "economic, political and social system consecrated in the Constitution of the Republic is untouchable." The amendment also states that Cuba "is an independent and sovereign socialist state of workers, organized by all its people for the well-being of all."

Reuters news agency reported that "officials said more than one million people, mostly wearing red T-shirts and waving Cuban flags, marched by the U.S. mission on Wednesday shouting slogans against the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush.

"Long live socialism, down with the lies," the crowd shouted at the bunker-like building, Reuters reported. Teresita Afefet, a worker who cycled five miles to the waterfront demonstration with her husband told the news agency that an "immense majority of Cubans support Fidel [Castro] and the revolution. It's voluntary. We are here of our own will."

Juan Antonio González, who works in the
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Supporters of 'Militant' and 'PM' put fund into orbit

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* have organized to put the international fund drive for the two socialist publications way over the top. The total received in the appeal stands at almost \$70,000, well over the goal of \$50,000. Payments received in local areas but not at the New York offices of the two publications will take the final amount to more than \$71,000.

Over the past seven weeks, hundreds of working people and youth have responded generously to this special fund-raising effort, which will help make up the shortfall between sales income and the costs of publishing and distributing the paper. Receiv-

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Students in New Zealand walk out to support teachers

Continued from front page
ers more money!" read one sign at Westlake Girls High School in Auckland June 14 where 150 mainly 14- to 15-year-old students left their classrooms to hold a roadside demonstration. "We're behind our teachers all the way," students at the action told the *Militant*.

Some of the protests over June 13-14 reported by the media included a demonstration of 300 students from several schools in the central square of Christchurch. Elsewhere in the city, up to 600 students from Papanui and Burnside high schools held a public march.

In Wellington, 1,000 students rallied at a Lower Hutt intersection, and up to 500 students from Paraparaumu College marched for more than two hours to link up with 200 protesters at Kapiti College. A 100-strong contingent from Waitakere College in Auckland visited three other high schools in the area, urging students to join the walkout.

In Palmerston North, the June 14 *Manawatu Evening Standard* reported that 1,300 students from five high schools rallied in the city square, "packed together in a six-deep, shouting phalanx that reached a window-rattling crescendo when horn-tooting supporters drove by.... Awatapu [College] Maori students led a haka [traditional war dance] just before the protest wound down, shouting defiance at Education Minister Trevor Mallard." Two of the student strike organizers, Allanah Pirie and Tara Syme, said they were proud to be involved and that the unity achieved within and between the schools was "primo."

Actions took place at many other schools and in many other towns and cities throughout the country.

Reactions among teachers to these events were mixed. Some endorsed the students' actions, but others tried to prevent them. A student from Epsom Girls Grammar School in Auckland, where 600 students held a one-hour demonstration on a school field, told the *New Zealand Herald* she was "really

shocked the teachers didn't appreciate us striking for them." At Paraparaumu College, 500 students chanted, "Hell no, we won't go!" when teachers asked them to return to class.

Concern over 'anarchy in the streets'

Officials of the PPTA expressed alarm at the wave of student protests. National president Jen McCutcheon told news reporters, "We never envisaged things would go this far.... Our members across the country are very concerned about the anarchy that has hit the streets." Several high school principals echoed this concern. "This is mob rule and you can't have that," Papanui High School principal Denis Pyatt told the *Press*.

In February, 56 percent of teachers nationwide voted down a deal offered by the government that had been agreed to by the PPTA's national officers. The latest government offer, which the PPTA officials had also accepted, had proposed a special temporary payment for extra work teachers are required to perform implementing a new examination system, and a 5.5 percent wage increase over three years, which teachers point out doesn't even keep pace with the rate of inflation.

The PPTA had announced that to press its contract fight it would initiate a nation-



Militant/Terry Lynch
Students at Westlake Girls High School in Auckland demonstrate June 14 in support of contract demands by teachers for improved pay and conditions.

wide "rostering home" action, under which teachers would refuse to teach a particular class each day. But on June 17, the day the action was due to begin, PPTA national officials called it off. Announcing the decision, McCutcheon said she hoped this would

"take some heat out of the situation," saying, "We don't want a repeat, or worse, an escalation of the student protests last week."

Despite this, student protests continued into a second week. The widespread sup-

port by students for the teachers' pay claim reflects a wider sentiment among working people against the erosion of education, health care, and other social services under successive governments over the past two decades.

"It's up to the government to cough up more money for schools," 16-year-old Mathew Bentham told the *Militant* June 17 during a lunchtime protest by 60 students at Selwyn College in Auckland.

Earth First! leaders win suit against cops

BY BILL KALMAN

OAKLAND, California—On June 11 a 10-member federal jury here awarded Darryl Cherney and the estate of Judi Bari \$4.4 million in damages after finding that their rights were violated by three FBI agents and three Oakland city cops. Cherney is a leader of the Earth First! environmental group, as was Bari until her death from cancer in 1997.

On May 24, 1990, a pipe bomb exploded underneath the seat of a car driven by Bari as she and Cherney were driving through east Oakland. Bari was nearly killed in the

explosion, and Cherney was injured. The pair were organizing protest actions against the timber industry's clear cutting of old growth redwood trees.

Darryl Cherney, speaking at a Militant Labor Forum in San Francisco last month, explained that Bari began receiving death threats in the spring of 1990. Threatening phone calls, phony press releases, and inflammatory leaflets falsely attributed to Earth First! multiplied along with a violence-baiting campaign in the press. Cherney and others began to think about the possibility that a police Cointelpro-type operation was being waged against them.

"We had read books about Cointelpro, books like ones in this bookstore," Cherney said, pointing to several titles on display in the Pathfinder bookstore where the forum was held. "We knew that the FBI's standard procedure was to take existing rifts" and deepen them, and "to fan violence" among groups.

Hours after the car explosion the two were arrested by the Oakland Police Department (OPD), working in collaboration with the FBI. The cops accused the pair of transporting an explosive device to promote "ecoterrorism."

"We're assuming the device was placed in the car by the occupants," one Oakland cop told the *San Francisco Examiner* at the

time. Less than two months later all charges were dropped due to lack of evidence. No one else was ever arrested for the bombing.

In 1991 Cherney and Bari sued the FBI and OPD for false arrest and for violating their constitutional rights. After more than a decade of government stalling, their lawsuit went to trial this April. Along the way the FBI and OPD as institutions were dismissed by the judge as defendants, and the individuals named in the lawsuit were winnowed down to four FBI agents and three Oakland cops.

During the trial the OPD admitted to spying on political organizations. Kevin Griswold, a cop assigned to the OPD's "intelligence" unit, admitted on the stand to keeping files on some 300 political groups.

The jury cleared one FBI agent of any wrongdoing and all the defendants of the conspiracy charge. But they found that the remaining defendants deliberately violated the pair's Fourth Amendment rights against false arrest and illegal searches, as well as chilling their free speech rights by casting them as the only suspects in the bombing.

A *New York Times* article on the lawsuit noted that "the outcome of the trial...left the large question of who is responsible for the bombing untouched."

Jim Altenberg contributed to this article.



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Chirac prepares new assaults on workers

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS—Abstentions by more than 39 percent of the electorate, in large part by workers and young people, broke all records in the final round of the French parliamentary elections June 16. The Union for the Presidential Majority (UMP), the newly founded political organization of conservative Gaullist Jacques Chirac, won 355 of the seats in the new parliament, 66 more than an absolute majority.

Only weeks earlier, in the second round of the presidential elections in May, Chirac was reelected president of France with 82 percent of the vote and the support of the Socialist Party (SP), French Communist Party, and other centrist and workers' parties in the country. They claimed a massive turnout was needed to "stop fascism" because Jean-Marie Le Pen, candidate of the ultrarightist Nationalist Front, was the other candidate in the runoff.

With the elections over, the Plural Left, the electoral alliance that held a parliamentary majority led by the Socialist Party (SP), has collapsed in disarray and has been dissolved. It had also included the French Communist Party (CP), the Greens, the Left Radicals, and the Republican Pole.

The depth of the crisis facing these parties was registered again when the heads of the French CP, the Greens, and the Republican Pole were all defeated in their local constituencies. Lionel Jospin, former prime minister and head of the SP, came in third in the presidential elections in May, eliminating him from the runoff.

In the parliamentary elections the two parties that call themselves Trotskyist received just over 1 percent each in the first round, down from 11 percent in the presidential elections in May. Neither had a candidate who won enough votes to be eligible for the second round of voting. The vote for the two extreme rightist parties fell by almost 50 percent from the presidential elections. The parties received only 12 percent of the vote in the first round of the parliamentary vote and ended up with no elected deputies in the final round.

After its disastrous showing in the presidential elections in May, SP leaders announced a "left turn" to win back disaffected workers and youth. But the only visible result of this was a campaign promise to raise the minimum wage by 5 percent in July.

Chirac appealed to the middle class and better off sections of the working class by promising to lower income taxes by 5 percent. Since only 50 percent of families earn enough to pay income taxes, most workers were unaffected by this measure. There was no promise by Chirac's party to lower the highly regressive value-added tax, which particularly affects workers, nor to raise the minimum wage.

Rise in deficit spending

The president also continued his "law and order" campaign, taking steps to put more police and gendarmes on the street in certain working-class neighborhoods and give them the right to use rubber bullets for the

first time.

The tax reduction and the large increases in spending for police and the military that Chirac has announced means the French government will run a deficit higher than the limit of 3 percent of the gross domestic product, a ceiling agreed to as part of the drive to launch the euro as a common currency in Europe. This has led to conflicts with the European Central Bank.

Within hours of the election results, Jean-Claude Trichet, currently the governor of the Bank of France and soon to be president of the European Central Bank, called on the new government to "reduce public spending along with the tax cut" in order to meet the EU guidelines. He said that France should "respect the fixed objectives of the European Stability and Growth Pact," which he described as "fundamental for Europe" because it "allows us to have a single currency without the necessity of a federal government and federal budget."

Leading into the second round of the presidential vote, Chirac called on all the conservative parties to dissolve into a single party under presidential control. Candidates on the UMP slate pledged to be part of the same parliamentary caucus and to take part in the founding of a new party in the fall to replace the multiplicity of existing conservative formations. This caucus is to vote in parliament according to the president's dictates, and those who do not would face expulsion. Government ministers would be subject to recall by this parliamentary caucus.

With the UMP now having an absolute majority in the National Assembly, some of Chirac's critics are saying that he has created a rubber stamp parliament, and a prime minister and governmental cabinet under his control. Those who only weeks ago hailed him as the last alternative for democracy in France, are now warning Chirac to be cautious in his exercise of power. "The balance of our democracy is at stake," SP leader François Hollande said.

The new UMP government will be able to build on a number of attacks on workers' rights that have been carried out with bipartisan support from the SP. On June 5 Chirac prolonged for another three months the Reinforced Vigipirate plan, which was put in place by the Plural Left government after September 11. Vigipirate suspends certain restrictions on police action and allows the army to have joint patrols with police and gendarmes. It allows identity checks and body searches that are normally forbidden.

Nor did the Plural Left oppose other measures to "re-enforce the role of the police" such as the creation of a super-ministry of internal security; the formation of 28 Regional Intervention Groups composed of police, gendarmes, and other repressive forces; or the authorization of the use of "flash ball" rubber bullets.

New struggles by workers

In the midst of the parliamentary balloting, a number of struggles by working people have continued.

On June 8 more than 1,500 people dem-

Union at Superior Poultry is decertified in British Columbia

BY JOE YOUNG

VANCOUVER, British Columbia—The Labour Relations Board announced June 10 that the union at Superior Poultry had been decertified. In a February 11 vote by 186 workers, the union lost by a margin of three. Ballots were not counted until outstanding challenges were settled in June.

The Pollen Group which owns Superior Poultry is the largest poultry producer in British Columbia and owns three other plants, of which only one is unionized.

An attempt to organize Superior Poultry in 1992 failed after the company fired 30 union supporters. In 1999, 70 per cent of the workers signed up with the United Food and Commercial Workers. Most workers at the plant are from the Punjab in India or other countries in Asia. A majority are women. After months of fruitless negotiations, the workers went on strike in July 2000. During the walkout some 60 of the 225 workers crossed the picket line.

Nearly nine months after the strike began, the company applied for compulsory

arbitration. In April 2001, the arbitrator imposed a contract with pay increases, although wages remained at a much lower level than at other unionized poultry plants.

The company continued its antiunion drive, however, first by hiring about 30 new workers who were related to or were friends of those who had crossed the picket line. The bosses refused to recognize seniority in job postings and shifts. Newly hired workers were given easier jobs on the production line while union supporters were assigned to the live-hang area. The shop stewards filed around 20 grievances, none of which were resolved.

Finally the company was successful in getting more than 45 per cent of the workers to apply for a decertification vote, the percentage required in law. The vote was lost by the narrowest of margins by the union supporters.

Joe Young is a meat packer in Langley, British Columbia.

onstrated in Paris to defend undocumented workers. "For several months the police have been making raids on immigrant worker hostels," said Jean Guillien, one of the march organizers. "We demand giving papers to the 300,000 to 400,000 immigrant workers in France who work but have no rights."

Postal worker unions have called for actions June 20 to defend 100,000 postal workers who work on private contracts.

Even doctors have been demonstrating against the budget restrictions imposed on the public health service. After months of demonstrations and a highly publicized violent attack by CRS riot police, general practitioners won an increase in social security rates paid for doctors' consultations. Following the general practitioners victory, pediatricians announced the start of a similar movement.

Demonstrators back chemical workers locked out in Texas



Militant/Steve Warsell

More than 200 locked-out workers at Sterling Chemical and supporters marched and rallied June 14 outside the plant entrance in Texas City.

BY STEVE WARSHELL

Texas City, Texas—More than 200 spouses and supporters of locked-out unionists at Sterling Chemical marched through downtown Texas City to the plant entrance on June 14 to protest the company attacks on the union and its retired members.

Sterling locked out the union after the membership overwhelmingly rejected a contract that would have cut union jobs and increased insurance premiums for retirees by more than \$500 a month.

Chanting, "Be fair, unlock!" the marchers gathered at the local football stadium and proceeded on a noisy but disciplined two-mile march. At the plant entrance, they held a rally and demanded of the plant manager, "[Walter] Treybig, come out!"

Connie DiSalvo, the wife of a locked-out worker, told the *Militant* that "Sterling is too chicken to come out and talk to us wives. We demand to know why they've locked out

the union!"

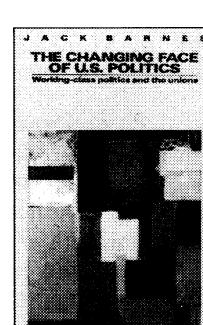
Retired union member Barney Boudreux said, "Many of us won't be able to afford health insurance if the company gets away with this. After seeing what Sterling is doing, I'm afraid that one day I'll wake up and find out I don't have any coverage at all."

The previous day, Sterling spokespersons had announced that negotiations would resume next week. However, they continued to insist that, in Treybig's words, "our total package...is the best it can be when compared to any chemical company in the Gulf Coast region." The company rejected the union offer of continuing negotiations while union workers remain on the job.

Marching in solidarity with the locked-out workers were union members from nearby Dow Chemical, who are also fighting for a contract. Dow is attempting to impose a ten-year agreement including cutbacks in union jobs and binding arbitration to settle disputes.

From Pathfinder

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by Jack Barnes

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History of American Trotskyism

by James P. Cannon

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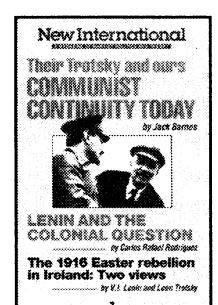
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Cubans: 'Our revolution is here to stay'

Continued from front page

tourism industry, said: "We are here to tell Bush to stop interfering in Cuba. Leave us alone."

Cuban president Fidel Castro urged a full turnout for the marches in an address two days before the actions to a meeting of representatives of the country's trade union federation, farmers groups, and other mass organizations. Schools and work places were closed June 12 in order to assure the largest possible participation.

The mobilizations come in the midst of a tightening economic situation in Cuba, whose economy has been hit over the last year by a severe hurricane, the collapse of the price of sugar on the world market, a cutoff of oil from Venezuela, and a 14 percent decline in visits to the country by tourists, a major source of hard currency and employment.

In response, the revolutionary government in Cuba has cut prices on some basic goods, and raised the cost of many items available in dollar stores. This both softens the impact of the economic difficulties for many working people and places a tax on the middle class in Cuba. This layer has grown in numbers and ambition in recent years as a result of measures adopted by the government, including legalizing the dollar and opening joint ventures in order to attract foreign capital necessary for development of industries such as tourism and oil exploration.

On June 19 the *Wall Street Journal* reported that Ulises Rosales del Toro, head of the Sugar Ministry in Cuba, confirmed the government's decision to close sugar mills in the country. The ministry is planning to shut down 50 percent of the mills, most of which are 50 years old and inefficient. Land dedicated to raw-sugar production will also be cut by up to 60 percent.

"We have the capacity to produce 10 million tons of raw sugar per year but have been producing an average of 4 million tons," said Rosales at a news conference in Havana, ac-

cording to the *Journal*. There are 400,000 workers currently employed in the sugar industry.

As for the suspension of oil shipments from Venezuela, begun under the brief administration of the leaders of the failed coup against President Hugo Chávez, a recent article in the Cuban newspaper *Granma* reported the loss has "caused grave damage to our country." Cuba had been receiving more than 50,000 barrels a day from Venezuela, about one-third of its needs. The article said the Cuban government has already spent "dozens of millions of dollars more than planned" on the spot market to make up for oil not received and has dipped into the country's own petroleum reserves.

In addition to the marches, millions of Cubans have put their signature to the constitutional referendum in the subsequent days. *Granma* reported June 18 that up to 8 million people have signed in support of the

measure.

The June 12 marches and signature campaign were an answer to recent charges by Bush administration officials, as well as former U.S. president James Carter, who visited Cuba in May.

On May 20 Bush affirmed Washington's bipartisan embargo against Cuba and declared that normalization with Havana, "diplomatic recognition, and open trade and a robust aid program will only be possible when Cuba has a new government that is fully democratic."

The speech came after Richard Bolton, U.S. undersecretary of state for arms control, accused the Cuban government of pursuing "at least a limited offensive biological warfare research development effort" and of providing "dual-use biotechnology to other rogue states." Administration officials later stated they had no proof Cuba possessed or is developing chemical or bio-

logical weapons.

Bolton's speech came on the eve of Carter's visit to Cuba, where he advanced Washington's slander campaign in a nationally televised speech at the University of Havana. "People are not allowed to organize any opposition movements," he declared, while praising a petition drive called the Varela Project.

The effort, backed by the U.S. government, has garnered a total of 11,200 signatures. The petition calls for a national referendum on the country's electoral system, for approval of an amnesty of prisoners jailed for committing criminal acts against the revolution, and for the right to own private businesses.

During his tour to Cuba, which was hosted by the Cuban government, Carter also said that "almost every country in the Americas is a democracy," and arrogantly demanded Cuba "meet universally accepted standards in civil liberties."

Construction workers stage strike

Continued from front page

for the industry's 900,000 workers and an increase in the minimum wage in eastern Germany. Over the past decade, union officials say, construction companies have extended nonunion operations and hired workers from other countries at wages substantially lower than those won by the union. Today, less than half of the industry's workforce belongs to the union.

The labor action initially focused in northern Germany. However, more construction sites are targeted for strikes in other parts of the country each day an agreement with the bosses is not reached. Union officials say the labor action will spread to southern Germany June 19 and nationwide by June 24 if negotiations do not resume.

"We're going to expand the strike every day as long as they refuse to make a new

offer," said IG Bau leader Klaus Wiesehuegel.

The construction bosses have called the strike "irresponsible," according to CNN. They offered a 3 percent hike beginning in September and a one-time lump sum payment of 100 euros (US\$96) in August.

German capitalist economists and the big-business media are howling that a prolonged strike would endanger the country's weak economic recovery, estimating that it could cost the industry \$18 million a day. They warned that it would accelerate more job losses, noting that 500,000 construction jobs have been slashed since 1995.

"The economic damage is going to be massive," said Michael Knipper, managing director of the construction employers association.

"Too high wage settlements show up

quickly in higher unemployment and a temporary jump in inflation," said Hypo-Vereinsbank economist Thomas Hueck.

Profit margins have sagged in the construction industry, putting the brakes on the country's economy, which has been in a recession for the past six months. There have been a rising number of bankruptcies, 32,000 in 2001, a 14 percent increase from the previous year. The analysis firm Creditreform estimated there could be up to 40,000 bankrupt companies this year.

Several major companies have gone belly-up, including the construction giant Philipp Holzmann AG, paper company Herlitz, and aircraft manufacturer Fairchild Dornier.

The jobless rate in Germany is 8.1 percent, the fifth highest among countries in the European Union (EU). It is already over the 4 million mark, although Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder promised it would be well below 3.5 million by election time in September. According to the Federal Labor Office, unemployment rose by 60,000 in May, its sharpest increase in five years.

Despite the country's economic stagnation and pressure from the bosses, the construction workers voted 98 percent in favor of putting down their tools. They pointed to the four percent pay raise negotiated for members in the IG Metall union to press their demands for the pay hike.

"After a prolonged period of economic stagnation, German workers are increasingly skeptical of government and employers' argument that wage moderation is the key to recovery," noted a BBC report referring to the metalworkers.

Rolling one-day strikes in May

The metalworkers union IG Metall had held rolling one-day strikes in May that forced bosses in the auto industry to agree to the union's demands for a 4 percent wage increase. Up to 130,000 workers from 135 plants were called out on strike to support the wage demand.

Like their counterparts in Atlanta, campaigners in Houston organized their public fund meeting on June 15. Young Socialists leader Olympia Newton, who had also joined the SWP/YS delegation to Korea, traveled from Los Angeles to speak on "Cuba and the Coming American Revolution." Supporters combined their building and preparation of the meeting with participation in the international drive to increase the number of longer-term readers of the *Militant* and *PM*.

In at least a couple of cases, fund organizers have commented that they could have done more to reach co-workers, new readers of the socialist press, and long-standing supporters. "This will be the big challenge for the next one," wrote Bill Arth in Atlanta.

Fund drive directors are encouraged to send in any outstanding checks. The shortfall between the local goals and amount received is almost \$1,900.

Last-minute contributions are also welcome. Cappy Kidd, the organizer of the fund in Chicago, called the *Militant* on June 18 to report a \$200 donation received the previous night. "The donation might not make it into the total," he said, "but I know the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will put it to good use."

Supporters put fund drive into orbit

Continued from front page

ing no backing from big-business investors or advertisers, the socialist press depends on such solidarity to stay in financial shape.

"We thank all those who contributed to

Militant/PM May 1—June 15 International Fund Drive			
	Goal	Paid	%
Newark	2,000	2,948	147%
Detroit	1,500	2,105	140%
Atlanta	2,000	2,510	126%
Birmingham	2,000	2,475	124%
Boston	1,850	2,120	115%
Brooklyn	1,800	2,061	114%
Houston	2,800	3,152	113%
Pittsburgh	2,700	2,979	110%
Cleveland	1,000	1,100	110%
Allentown	800	876	110%
NY Garment District	4,000	4,365	109%
Miami	1,000	1,090	109%
Charlotte	2,700	2,865	106%
Los Angeles	5,000	5,211	104%
Des Moines	1,000	1,032	103%
Omaha	660	680	103%
Chicago	3,000	3,083	103%
San Francisco	5,500	5,615	102%
Upper Manhattan	2,500	2,537	101%
Western Colorado	2,000	2,015	101%
Seattle	4,000	4,004	100%
Twin Cities	3,500	3,452	99%
Washington DC	1,600	1,561	98%
Tampa	800	751	94%
Philadelphia	2,000	1,455	73%
Other		560	
U.S. Total	57,710	62,600	108%
United Kingdom	300	450	150%
Canada	1,900	2,750	145%
Australia	875	940	107%
New Zealand	945	1,008	107%
France	150	150	100%
Belgium	1,310	1,310	100%
Sweden	400	397	99%
Int'l Total	63,590	69,605	109%
Total Should be	50,000	50,000	100%

Sales drive heads into final stretch to win new subscribers

BY JACK WILLEY

Heading into the final stretch of the drive, *Militant* supporters face a big challenge to meet the goals of winning new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as the book, *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*. Following through on individuals who bought copies of the paper, and stepped-up sales at factory plant gates and mine portals, door-to-door sales in working-class communities, and street tables with communist literature will be key to finishing the campaign with a victory.

Gerardo Herrera reports that a couple of socialist workers and a Young Socialists drove from Chicago to Detroit for a Militant Labor Forum June 15. They arrived early and sold a copy of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* in a working-class neighborhood. The guy who bought it had been a farmer in Mexico and was forced to sell off his land because it was economically unsustainable. He said conditions are also getting worse in the United States, where immigrants are treated like dirt and face racist discrimination on the job. That same weekend, supporters sold two *Militant* subscriptions, three *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions, and four copies of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* at the Socialism 2002 conference in Chicago.

In the previous week, *Militant* supporters set up a communist literature table in Pilsen, the predominantly Mexican and Chicano area of Chicago. Several people came up and told them about a meeting at the nearby San Tio Church to protest investigations of Social Security numbers by the government and employers. The socialists joined the meeting attended by some 300 immigrants and others where they learned about the firing of workers across the city—some with 20 years seniority—because the government claimed they gave false Social Security numbers. A protest is planned at the Federal Building, which houses the Immigration and Naturalization Service offices, on June 25.

Dean Hazlewood, a meat packer in Newark, New Jersey, reported that socialists there sold six *Militant* subscriptions and three *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions in the ninth week of the drive. One of the new subscribers was the first customer in the new location of the Pathfinder bookstore in Newark.

"She is a student who lives in the neighborhood, and decided to check out the bookstore after getting a leaflet announcing the grand opening," said Hazlewood. "She wanted to learn more about the Cuban Revolution and bought a copy of *Che Guevara Talks to Young People* in addition to the subscription."

BY STEVE WARSHELL

HOUSTON—Supporters of the *Militant* recently set up a communist literature table at the University of Houston, a local commuter school. We sold a number of Pathfinder books, and two students filled out subscription forms to buy the paper later in the week.

The University of Houston is known as a center for students from India and all of South Asia. When a couple of members of the Indian Student Association passed by the table, we encouraged them to read the editorial on the imperialists' role in the current crisis between the regimes in India and Pakistan. And we told them we were very inter-

ested in what they thought about the editorial.

One returned to the table a few minutes later and said he thought the *Militant* clearly explains what is going on. He told his friends about the editorial and passed it around. He said he would also take the paper to an Indian community center. One of them has since bought a subscription.

Later, a student stopped by after reading our sign publicizing the Socialist Workers election campaign. He asked if we had anything on the Philippines, which sparked a half-hour discussion about U.S. imperialism and its bloody birth in the occupation of the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico in 1898 as well as its role today. By the end of the discussion, he picked up a copy of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* and *Coal Miners on Strike*.

❖

BY LOUIS TURNER

CHARLOTTE, North Carolina—At the fifth annual Juneteenth celebrations here, June 15–16, supporters of the *Militant* and Pathfinder books set up a literature table. On the first day, the table was abuzz from the moment we set up until the moment we closed down seven hours later. Overall, we sold three *Militant* subscriptions, 30 single copies of the paper, and more than \$140 in books.

Several times young people crowded around the table looking at the books and engaging in lively political discussions. "What kind of revolution are you talking about?" asked one student from Charlotte. A group of Black students from the Raleigh-Durham area invited the supporters to set up on their campus in the fall. Some said they wanted to go to the Militant Labor Forum on June 22 that will show the film *Lumumba*.

We sold three copies of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* by Jack Barnes; the new pamphlet by Thomas Sankara, *We are the Heirs of World Revolution; Socialism and Man in Cuba; Black Music, White Business; The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning: The Fraud of Education Reform Under Capitalism*; and books on the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Many people bought the *Militant* because of the coverage of the ruling class's attempts to extend the reach of the FBI. They expressed revulsion toward giving the FBI the powers to spy even more on political groups, mosques, and others. Some people left the table with a copy of the *Militant* and the book *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom, or Workers' Rights vs. the Secret Police*.



Militant

Meat packers buy copy of *Perspectiva Mundial* at plant gate of Farmland packing-house in Crete, Nebraska, June 9.

We underestimated the deep interest in the paper. Two of the three subscriptions we sold were on the first day after we had run out of papers except for one copy we marked "For display only."

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Subscription Drive April 13–June 23 (week 9)

Country	Militant			PM			Book	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	
Sweden								
Gothenburg*	16	17	106%	3	2	9	7	
Stockholm	10	10	100%	3	2	5	4	
Sweden Total	26	27	104%	6	4	14	11	
New Zealand								
Auckland	10	11	110%	1		5	3	
Christchurch	8	7	88%	1		3	5	
N.Z. total	18	18	100%	2		8	8	
United Kingdom								
London	35	26	74%	12	6	20	13	
Dundee		5						2
UK total	35	31	89%	12	6	20	15	
Canada								
Vancouver	30	29	97%	6	4	20	15	
Toronto	30	21	70%	6	2	15	13	
Montreal	15	7	47%	5	4	16	14	
Other		2						
Canada total	75	59	79%	17	10	51	42	
United States								
Seattle*	38	38	100%	12	7	16	16	
Los Angeles	35	34	97%	15	16	10	7	
Charlotte	18	17	94%	7	4	10	7	
Miami	30	27	90%	15	6	15	11	
Birmingham	20	16	80%	8	11	10	3	
Cleveland	25	20	80%	5	4	20	14	
Houston	30	24	80%	12	11	20	13	
Washington	25	20	80%	12	11	15	13	
NY Garment Dist.	80	62	78%	40	29	50	34	
Omaha	9	7	78%	15	16	10	10	
Western Colorado	18	14	78%	8	7	12	8	
Boston	30	23	77%	15	16	20	17	
Tampa	25	19	76%	6	4	12	7	
Detroit	40	30	75%	13	11	20	15	
Twin Cities	50	37	74%	25	31	25	3	
Des Moines	40	29	73%	25	20	21	11	
Pittsburgh	45	33	73%	5	1	20	4	
Allentown*	25	18	72%	8	5	10	1	
Brooklyn	45	31	69%	35	13	35	20	
Newark	55	36	65%	25	24	35	20	
Upper Manhattan	75	49	65%	50	31	40	28	
Brownsville	8	5	63%	3	1		3	
San Francisco	30	19	63%	18	5	15	8	
Philadelphia	25	15	60%	10	8	15	1	
Atlanta	40	23	58%	15	10	30	16	
Chicago	35	18	51%	20	13	25	8	
Tucson	5	2	40%	1				
U.S. total	858	626	73%	410	308	495	282	
Australia	20	11	55%	4	3	12	5	
Iceland	6	2	33%	1		4	1	
Int'l totals	1038	774	74%	452	331	604	364	
Goal/Should be	1050	945	90%	460	414	625	563	
IN THE UNIONS								
United States	Militant	PM	Book	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	
UMWA	15	11	73%	2	2	10	1	
UNITE	50	9	18%	45	11	50	6	
UFCW	50	14	28%	50	35	50	21	
Total	115	34	30%	97	48	110	28	
Australia								
AMIEU	3	1	33%				3	
MUA*	2		0%				3	
Total	5	1	20%				6	
Canada								
UFCW	7	2	29%	1		4	2	
UNITE	3		0%	2	1	3		
Total	10	2	20%	3	1	7	2	
New Zealand								
NDU	1		0%				1	
MWU	2		0%				1	
Total	3		0%				1	
raised goal*								

This growing military, economic, and political intervention in the region stands as a deep threat to working people on the Indian subcontinent. They can be aided by working-class forces and youth living inside the United States and the United Kingdom who educate, organize, and fight to get the imperialist military forces out of the region. This can be a spur to workers and peasants in India to join in a common struggle against their common enemy: Washington, London, and the other imperialist powers.

Working people in the subcontinent have common interests and a common destiny. An anti-imperialist struggle joined by the toilers in India and Pakistan is the strongest way to push back reactionary Hindu nationalists and government assaults by both New Delhi and Islamabad on national and religious rights, and to make new gains in the fight for the national unification of India.

The tensions between India and Pakistan have sharpened under the impact of the growing imperialist military presence in the region. Today the imperialist powers, with Washington well to the fore, have thousands of troops in new garrisons, along with formidable naval and air forces, stationed throughout Central and South Asia and the Middle East. Some 1,200 U.S. troops are edging closer to a combat role in the southern Philippines.

A direct consequence of the defeat of the Taliban government in Afghanistan is the influx of al Qaeda and similar forces back into Pakistan. The bombing of the U.S. consulate in Karachi, which took the lives of 11 Pakistani citizens, along with other armed actions, indicate that the consequences of this development go beyond Kashmir.

AMIEU—Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union; MUA—Maritime Union of Australia; MWU—Meat Workers Union; NDU—National Distribution Union; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA—United Mine Workers of America; UNITE—Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees

Frame-up trial begins in North Carolina

BY DENNIS RICHTER
AND STEVE WOLF

CHARLOTTE, North Carolina—The frame-up trial of Mohamad and Chawki Hammoud began here May 20. The two brothers are accused by the U.S. government of heading up a cell here of the Lebanese organization Hezbollah.

In spite of sensationalist coverage of the trial, the local press has had to admit that neither is accused of "any acts of terrorism" or violence.

Mohamad Hammoud, 28, is the first person to be tried under a 1996 federal law banning material support to groups designated as foreign terrorist groups. He is accused of sending money to Hezbollah in Lebanon. He is also charged with money laundering, cigarette smuggling, immigration fraud, and racketeering. He faces 30 years to life if convicted on all charges.

Chawki Hammoud, 37, faces up to 14 years in prison on similar but lesser charges. He pleaded guilty to entering a fraudulent marriage designed to avoid immigration laws and help him stay in the United States.

As part of the attempt to railroad the two to prison, the government has put on a display of special security measures for the trial. Concrete barriers were placed around the courthouse where the trial is being held. U.S. marshals stand guard with assault rifles when the brothers are brought to court. As many as a dozen security guards are posted within the courtroom. Spectators are prohibited from bringing cell phones, beepers, and laptop computers. The identities of jurors are secret.

For the first time in a U.S. court, wiretaps by Canadian security agencies were allowed as evidence. A translator for the Canadian spy agency was scheduled to testify in disguise.

The frame-up began publicly in July 2000 when 18 people, mostly from Lebanon, were arrested in North Carolina and charged with cigarette smuggling, money laundering, and immigration violations after a massive police investigation originally dubbed "Operation Smoke Screen."

Ten of these individuals were later charged with participating in a Charlotte "Hezbollah Cell." The cops claim that profits from the alleged cigarette smuggling were used to fund Hezbollah. Eight of them pleaded guilty to various charges and are awaiting sentencing. Several are testifying as prosecution witnesses against the Hammouds in exchange for lesser sentences.

Hezbollah is an organization in Lebanon that fought both against Israeli military forces and the right-wing militia backed by Tel Aviv that occupied the southern part of the country for 22 years. Israel continues to control a small part of territory in Lebanon,

after being forced to withdraw from most of the occupied land due to resistance from the Lebanese people.

Infiltrated prayer meetings

As part of their investigation, government agents infiltrated weekly prayer meetings that the Hammouds were part of. The prosecution accuses the participants in the prayer group of reading speeches by Hezbollah's General Secretary Sheik Nasserallah and deceased Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini—as if doing so is a crime.

The government says that with his computer Mohamad Hammoud accessed Hezbollah web sites and communicated with Hezbollah members in Lebanon, and that he owned copies of pro-Hezbollah videos that depict the resistance to Israeli occupation of his homeland, including crowds chanting, "Death to America; Death to Is-

rael."

On June 12 the U.S. prosecutor presented what he asserted were transcripts of Canadian wiretaps that record conversations by members of the Hezbollah "cell" discussing plans to send "drilling equipment" to Hezbollah. But neither Hammoud was mentioned on these tapes. The next day the prosecution played tapes of a conversation between Mohamad Hammoud and a person they said was a Hezbollah military commander in Lebanon.

During the cross-examination of Mohamad Hammoud, who took the stand in his own defense, the prosecutor dramatically pointed to a picture of Mohamad when he was a teenager in Lebanon with an automatic weapon in his hand.

Mohamad Hammoud has never denied being sympathetic to Hezbollah and resistance fighters trying to drive Israel out of

his homeland. He explained that growing up he saw the destruction caused by the Israeli occupation of Lebanon and its support to rightist forces there. He added that during the Israeli invasion in 1992 he suffered the effects of a raid while he was celebrating the last day of school with classmates. "I woke up in the hospital," he said. "My friend passed away that day."

"I am in the United States, the mother of democracy," he testified. "I never thought I'd be prosecuted because I have sympathy for Hezbollah." While refusing to back down from his opposition to Israel in Lebanon and support to the resistance movement, Hammoud denied that he provided funds to Hezbollah.

Dennis Richter is a textile worker and member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees Local 1516.

Pittsburgh rally defends rights of Ethiopian



Militant/Marty Ressler

Ethiopian immigrant Getu Tewolde spoke at June 13 press conference in Pittsburgh, protesting charge that he made a "terrorist threat" at Greyhound station.

BY MARTY RESSLER

PITTSBURGH—Thirty people gathered for a street-corner press conference here June 13 to support Ethiopian immigrant Getu Berhanu Tewolde.

Tewolde is fighting to get charges against him stemming from his February 1 arrest at the Pittsburgh Greyhound terminal dropped. Speakers at the press conference included representatives of Amnesty International, the NAACP, Islamic Council of Greater

Pittsburgh, National Lawyers Guild, Thomas Merton Center, the rights group Zi, and the president of District Six of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

"What is being done in the name of counterterrorism has nothing to do with security," said Mary Zimmerle of Zi. "We are not safer because of what happened to Getu."

Thirty-five-year old Tewolde, a native of Ethiopia who is living legally in the United States, was traveling by bus from his home in Washington, D.C., to Denver, Colorado,

where he used to reside, to pick up some of his personal belongings from his uncle.

What was supposed to be a 12-minute layover at the Greyhound station downtown in Pittsburgh became a six-week stay in the psychiatric ward of the county jail.

As he was reboarding the bus, Tewolde inadvertently brushed against a female passenger who happened to be the bus station's night manager. "The lady right away complained about something which I didn't understand," Tewolde said. Moments later, an agitated driver ordered Tewolde off the bus, a request he complied with. People in the crowd took some of his words as terroristic threats, although the FBI later decided they were not.

Back in the terminal a cop arrived. Saying Tewolde was threatening him, the cop attacked and beat the 125-pound man, disarming him of his "weapon"—a pen he was holding. Tewolde was charged with making terroristic threats, causing and risking a catastrophe, and aggravated and simple assault. Because he was beaten by the police, he was considered to be "undisciplined" and was placed on Disciplinary Housing Status at the Allegheny County Jail. In addition, he was placed in the Mental Health pod and given eight pills a day in 24-hour solitary confinement with no psychiatric examination.

The "simple assault" charge was dropped at the preliminary hearing on March 15. By the time of Tewolde's formal arraignment on May 20 the "causing and risking a catastrophe" charge was dropped and a second "terroristic threat" charge was added.

The Free Getu Coalition which organized the press conference was able to arrange bail for Tewolde after getting him the Behavior Clinic exam he needed to be cleared for release.

Auto workers win contract at three Johnson Controls plants

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Hundreds of members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) ended a two-day strike at four Johnson Controls Inc. (JCI) auto parts plants June 14. The walkout forced the company for the first time to sign a contract with the union at three factories and to recognize the UAW at a fourth.

The UAW's agreement with Johnson Controls also allows the union to organize workers by having them sign union cards rather than through holding an election. Four of the company's plants that supply parts for Japanese carmakers are not included in the agreement.

The victory registered a gain for the UAW, whose membership has fallen by 50 percent over the past two decades.

Within hours the walkout succeeded in disrupting production at the General Motors and DaimlerChrysler facilities that use JCI parts. The strike shut down the first and second shifts at Chrysler's Jeep plant in Toledo, Ohio, and its St. Louis South facility. A GM spokesman said the auto giant ran out of parts at its plants in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, and in Shreveport, Louisiana, where the second shift was told not to report to work.

According to a union press release, the coordinated strike was organized to protest a "pattern of anti-union and unfair labor

practices" that included "unilaterally changing work rules, job rotations, attendance policy, overtime, insurance packages, and shift-operating times."

Workers at Johnson Controls plants in Shreveport, Oklahoma City, and Earth City, Missouri, won contracts for the first time. In Northwood, Ohio, where UAW officials said 85 percent of the workforce has already signed union representation cards, JCI agreed to recognize the union, a move it had refused to take prior to the walkout.

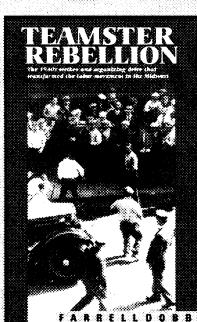
"We have a solid majority at our plant and JCI knows it," said Troy Redhawk, a worker at the Ohio plant. "But since they won't recognize our union, we have no choice but to use our economic power to enforce our legal rights."

Another union member, Greg Hill of UAW Local 2297 in Shreveport, added, "We have the legal right to a union, but JCI undermines that right at every opportunity."

The new contract signed in Shreveport, Oklahoma City, and Earth City includes a \$1,500 signing bonus, a pay increase of at least \$3 an hour, and a company-paid health-care plan. A pension program was also established for the first time.

The strike came days after a UAW convention in Las Vegas where Ron Gettelfinger became the president of the auto workers union.

FROM PATHFINDER



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Washington directs CIA to seek removal of Iraqi government

BY RÓGER CALERO

A feature article in the June 16 *Washington Post* reported that as part of the U.S. government's efforts to overthrow the Iraqi regime, the Bush administration has authorized the CIA to conduct covert operations in Iraq that include the use of lethal force.

Seeking to create an incident and provoke the Iraqi government, the presidential order directs the CIA to increase support for Iraqi opposition groups and forces inside and outside Iraq, including with money, weapons, equipment, training, and intelligence information, reported Robert Woodward.

As well, the CIA is to expand its intelligence operations inside the country. The U.S. president gave the go-ahead to the deployment of CIA and Special Forces units that would be "authorized to kill Hussein if they were acting in self-defense," Woodward wrote.

Woodward quoted government officials who said that the operations should be viewed largely as "preparatory" to a military strike so "the agency can identify targets, intensify intelligence gathering on the ground in Iraq, and build relations with alternative future leaders and groups if Hussein is ousted."

Meetings with opposition forces

White House officials have held a series of meetings with representatives of opposition forces. State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said they include the Iraqi National Congress, the Kurdish Democratic Party, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, the Iraqi National Accord, and the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution of Iraq. The highest-ranking official to meet with these groups is Undersecretary of State Marc Grossman.

Since its 1990-91 war, in which the U.S.-led forces killed at least 150,000 Iraqis, the United Nations has maintained an embargo on the country. U.S. and British forces have also enforced a self-declared no-fly zone over the northern and southern parts of Iraq. Washington has launched several punishing air and cruise missile strikes against Baghdad and other major cities over the last decade as well.

But Washington's imperialist rivals in Europe are increasingly doing business with

the Iraqi government. Over the past four years some 185 companies have dropped a total of \$2.9 billion of war-related claims in order to get in on lucrative contracts to rebuild infrastructure and supply food and medicines to the country.

In addition, EU ministers announced June 17 they are launching negotiations with the government of Iran over closer economic relations. They hope to rapidly conclude a Trade and Cooperation Agreement as a first step to a free trade accord.

Both of these moves cut across Washington's campaign to oust Hussein as part of the fight against the countries they have declared to be the "axis of evil"—Iraq, Iran, and north Korea. As well as being capable of building weapons of mass destruction and delivery systems, these countries are not on good terms with U.S. imperialism. Bush declared that the White House will take "preemptive action" against these and other countries it chooses to block from acquiring weapons of mass destruction.

"The worst thing that can happen would be to allow a nation like Iraq, run by Saddam Hussein, to develop weapons of mass destruction, and then team up with terrorist organizations so they can blackmail the world," said Bush in April. "I'm not going to let that happen."

"I made up my mind that Saddam needs to go," Bush said to journalists. "That's all I'm willing to share with you."

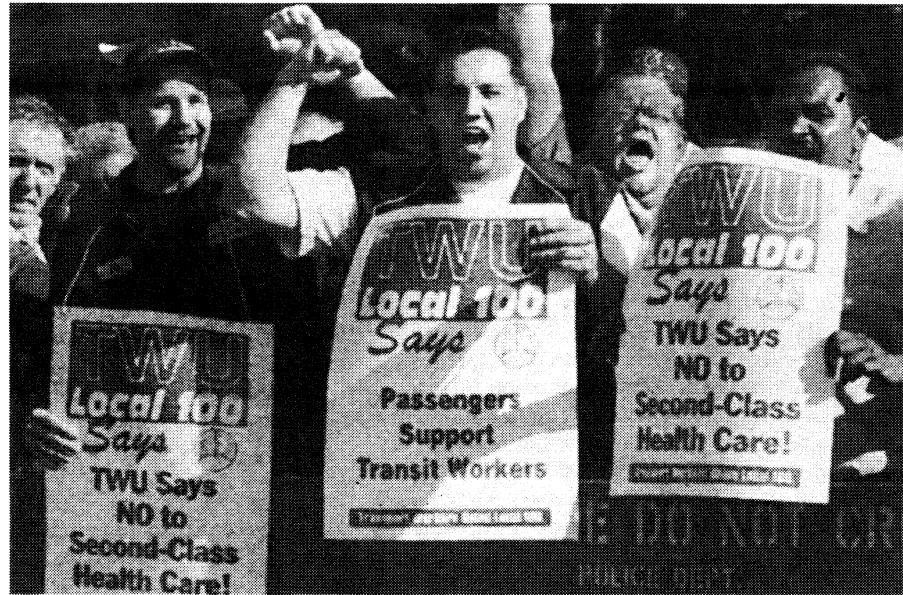
More recently, in a speech at West Point Bush came back to the theme of the pre-emptive strike doctrine, saying that "if we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long."

Vice President Richard Cheney joined the campaign, stating, "A regime that hates America and everything we stand for must never be permitted to threaten America with weapons of mass destruction."

The Bush administration does not say it has proof that the government in Iraq possesses nuclear and biological weapons, or that it may have given any such weapons to al Qaeda.

"It's not because you have some chain of evidence saying that Iraq may have given a weapon to al Qaeda," said National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice. "But it is

Bus workers in Queens, N.Y. strike for health benefits



Some 1,500 drivers, mechanics, and cleaners for three bus companies in Queens, New York, walked off the job June 17 to demand a better health benefits package. This is the third strike by the bus workers this year. Union officials said this time the walkout will continue until the city government, for which the three companies work under contract, agrees to their demands. "This is the beginning of a prolonged struggle, and that is what we should be prepared for," said Roger Toussaint, president of Transport Workers Union Local 100, which organizes the bus workers. The city government has sought to minimize the effects of the strike by hiring livery cab drivers and vans to cover the 42 bus routes affected by the work stoppage.

U.S. now hold 468 prisoners in hell hole at base in Guantánamo, Cuba

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Washington has sent 34 more detainees from Afghanistan to its prison camp at the U.S. naval base in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. The inmates arrived June 12, bringing the total number of prisoners held there to 468.

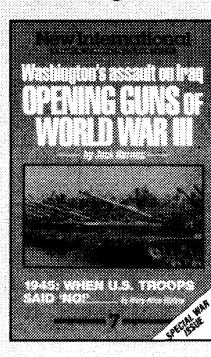
The men were brought to the newly constructed Camp Delta, which is made of concrete cells and covered by a dark green screen, designed to prevent anyone from seeing into the facility and inmates from being able to view their surroundings.

for further reading

Opening Guns of World War III

Washington's Assault on Iraq

Jack Barnes
The U.S. government's murderous assault on Iraq heralded increasingly sharp conflicts among imperialist powers, the rise of rightist and fascist forces, growing instability of international capitalism, and more wars. In *New International* no. 7. \$12.00



The U.S. government first began bringing prisoners captured in the war against Afghanistan to the naval base in January. Up to 300 were held in Camp X-ray, a makeshift prison with open-air, eight-foot-by-eight-foot cages, where inmates were kept in shackles.

In this hellhole prisoners paced "like caged animals" and were kept "awake all night under the glare of spotlights," wrote Associated Press reporter Tom Hays on April 28. "Months of confinement in crude, chain-link cells at Camp X-ray have left its 300 detainees from the war on terrorism at best a little stir-crazy, at worst suicidal."

Lt. Col. William Cline, the commander at the concentration camp, admitted that some "may be depressed. They've been asking, 'When am I going to trial? When am I going to get out of here?'"

A psychiatric nurse at the facility, Navy Lt. Pamela Herbig, said that at least 13 inmates have been put on medication for mental disorders ranging from post-traumatic stress disorder to the early stages of schizophrenia. Some of the prisoners' problems did not come from their confinement or from battlefield trauma, she asserted, but from "long-standing, childhood-type issues that makes them more susceptible to depression."

Last February a number of inmates waged a hunger strike to protest their conditions and indefinite detention.

Meanwhile, U.S. military forces are holding dozens of captives in Afghanistan. Through interrogations some will supposedly be released and others will face military tribunals.

because Iraq is one of those places that is both hostile to us and, frankly, irresponsible and cruel enough to make this available."

The *Wall Street Journal* reported that U.S. officials now say they "overestimated" al Qaeda's access to weapons of mass destruction. According to one "intelligence official," the "designs for nuclear weapons" found in Afghanistan "were rudimentary, the sort you'd draw on a cocktail napkin." U.S. troops "found no sign that al Qaeda had managed to acquire chemical or biological weapons or any nuclear material," the *Journal* noted.

As part of building support for action against Baghdad, U.S. secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld met with officials of three Gulf states in June. During his tour Rumsfeld visited U.S. military bases in Kuwait, where there are 8,000 U.S. troops equipped with Abrams tanks, Bradley fighting vehicles, and Patriot air-defense batter-

ies, as well as the crews for fighter planes flying over the no-fly zone in southern Iraq.

Numerous articles in the big-business press, citing unnamed Pentagon or White House sources, say that Washington is not planning a full-scale military invasion at this point.

Top military officers say that such an operation would require at least 200,000 troops, while preparations would take up to six months.

CIA director Tenet stated that the job of putting together a proxy army like the U.S.-backed Northern Alliance would be a much more difficult task for the CIA than in Afghanistan, since the Iraqi army is eight times larger than the forces controlled by the Taliban before their downfall. Tenet said that a CIA effort to bring down Hussein without a military assault had only about a 10 to 20 percent chance of succeeding.

Washington's choice elected president of Afghanistan

BY GREG McCARTAN

Moments after the 1,575 ballots cast for president of Afghanistan were tallied and the results announced June 13, U.S. ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad was on the stage of the *loya jirga* assembly, heaping praise on Hamid Karzai. "He has won a landslide and he has the vote of the people," the U.S. official said of the new president.

One U.S. big business newspaper called the meeting the "first broadly representative election in over 20 years" and a "watershed in Afghanistan's recent history."

Karzai was appointed interim president at a conference in Bonn, Germany, last December after the U.S.-led military forces gained control of Afghanistan. He has since worked hand-and-glove with the imperialist occupation forces and was Washington's choice for the post of president.

This time around the German government again played host by providing the giant tent under which the *loya jirga* met, albeit in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, not that of Germany.

With the election over, Karzai is now the president of the transitional government, which is to serve for 18 months until another *loya jirga* is called to draw up a constitution. There is currently no legislature, judiciary, or army.

One press report presented a more sober assessment of the forces behind the gathering than the picture painted by the U.S. ambassador and U.S. media.

Journalist Charles Clover reported from Kabul that it was clear to most delegates that the *jirga* was "thoroughly rigged to install a government headed by Hamid Karzai and dominated by the Northern Alliance."

"I thought this would be a *loya jirga*, but it's just a conference for the commanders," one delegate said of the regional officials who exercise wide powers in the country. Another added that the "decision as to who will rule Afghanistan was taken outside the tent."

According to the news report, which was published in London's *Financial Times*—nothing like this appeared in the U.S. press—Karzai "even committed a gaffe telling Reuters news agency that he had already been elected, even before any voting took place." The authorities postponed the opening of the *jirga* by one day to allow the "only two men who offered any competition to Mr. Karzai for the presidency—former king Zahir Shah and former president Burhanuddin Rabbani—the chance to announce they were not running and declare their wholehearted support for Mr. Karzai."

"The royal family are livid," the report continued, "and said privately yesterday that they were subjected to intense pressure by U.S. government officials."

As a consolation prize Karzai dubbed the former king the "spiritual father" of Afghanistan. This only drew further protest from the royal family's spokesperson who stated that despite the temporary setback, "everything is possible" in 18 months when the "real government" takes power. Even, he hoped, a constitutional monarchy was still an option.

An Afghan history professor on the scene said: "Historically, no decision has ever been approved contrary to the will of those who invited the *jirga*. But even compared to that tradition, this *loya jirga* is a little bit extreme," he said. "Nothing is being left to chance."

Montreal meeting celebrates new of 'The History of American Trotskyism'

Continued from front page

political literature available in French as well as English is essential for the construction of a nationwide revolutionary party in Canada.

Through many years of consistent work, the communist movement has published and kept in print six issues of *Nouvelle Internationale* in French, and a dozen titles by Pathfinder Press. This has made it possible for communist parties in other countries to reach out to working people whose first language is French, as well as to step up the distribution of revolutionary literature in France and other French-speaking countries.

"This is the first book published in French by Cannon, a proletarian revolutionist whose activity in the labor movement spanned six decades," said Prairie. "It is a central part of the continuity of the communist movement, as it describes the efforts to build an international communist organization in the great class battles and conflicts of the 20th century: the Bolshevik revolution of 1917; the rise of the Communist International and its degeneration under Stalin; the efforts of the supporters of Leon Trotsky such as Maurice Spector in Canada and Cannon in the United States to build a new international; the Great Depression; the tremendous workers' upsurge in the 1930s; the rise of fascism; and the Second World War."

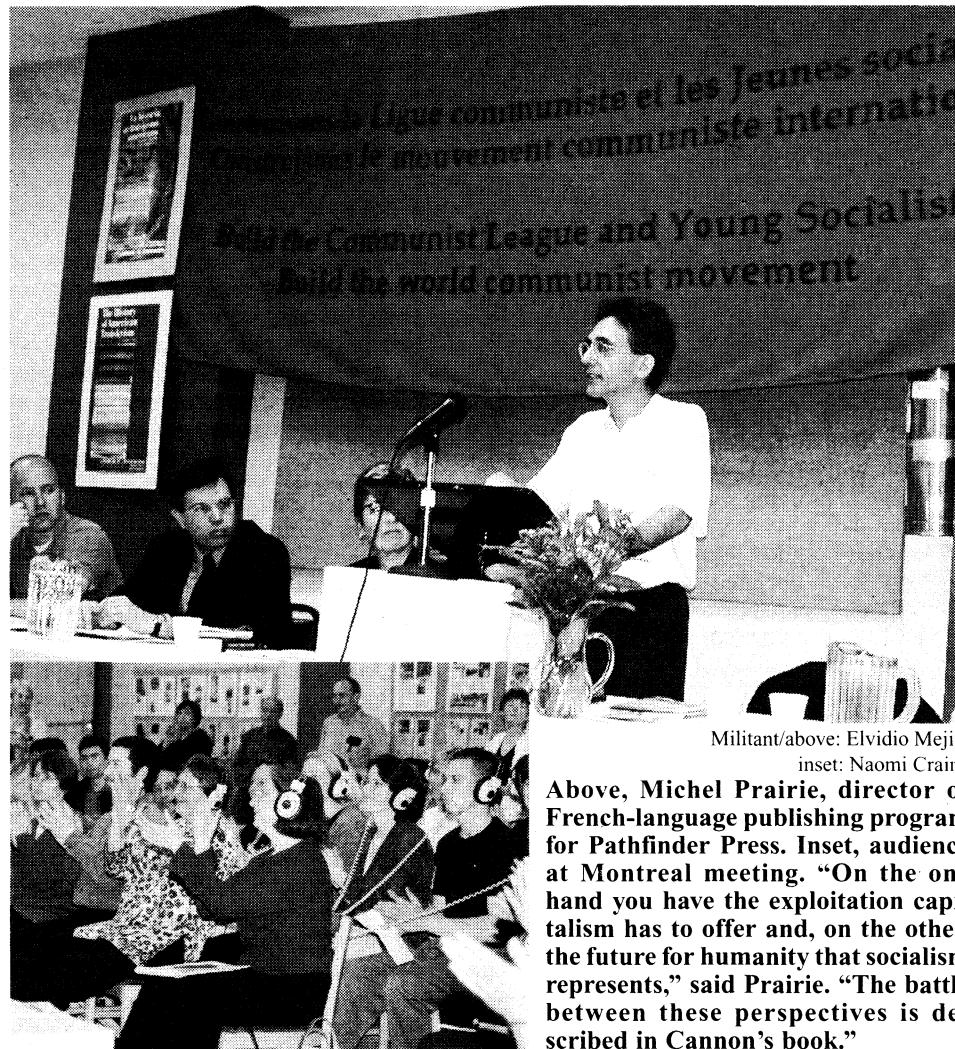
Prairie pointed to a front page article in the Montreal daily *Le Devoir*, which reported that every summer in Quebec 14,000 young people under the age of 18—many recruited through the primary schools—work in the fields harvesting cucumbers for Can\$4 an hour and strawberries for as little as \$2 a day at piece rate. He contrasted this extreme profit-gouging to the social relations that exist today in Cuba, where massive marches on June 13 in Havana and cities throughout that country brought millions of Cubans into the streets to reaffirm their socialist revolution and reject recent slanders by U.S. president George Bush.

"On the one hand you have the exploitation capitalism has to offer and, on the other, the future for humanity that socialism represents." The battle between these perspectives, said Prairie, "is the same battle described in Cannon's book."

Co-chairing the event along with Prairie was Nancy Séguin, a sewing machine operator in Vancouver and a leader of the YS in Canada. Séguin pointed to the openings that exist for getting Pathfinder books into the hands of revolutionary fighters around the world.

She recently participated in a conference on "Socialism, the alternative for the world and Haiti," held in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. "In the two days of the conference 53 books, mostly in French, were sold to the young people who attended," she said. "This thirst for revolutionary answers was also evident at the World Festival of Youth and Students held in Algeria in August 2001."

Séguin also described the massive demonstrations led by the unions in British



Militant/above: Elvicio Mejia; inset: Naomi Craine

Above, Michel Prairie, director of French-language publishing program for Pathfinder Press. Inset, audience at Montreal meeting. "On the one hand you have the exploitation capitalism has to offer and, on the other, the future for humanity that socialism represents," said Prairie. "The battle between these perspectives is described in Cannon's book."

Columbia against plans to slash the jobs of government employees by one-third and to institute major changes in the labor code, including lengthening the workweek and drastically cutting the minimum wage, as well as the fight by Native peoples in defense of their rights. "The Communist League and Young Socialists are part of these fights as we root ourselves more in workers districts," she said.

An attractive photo display highlighting the participation of communist workers in some of these struggles in Canada and around the world was featured prominently at the meeting. The pictures also showed the renovation work by volunteers in the new Pathfinder bookstore in the Montreal workers district of Villeray.

"The publication of this book will help us to organize a summer school in the three basic languages of our movement—English, Spanish, and French," stated Prairie. "This is important because it enables working-class fighters, regardless of their national origin, to study these ideas in the language in which they're most comfortable."

Next steps in publishing program

Prairie outlined the ambitious next steps in Pathfinder's French-language publishing program. The schedule calls for the publication by the end of the summer of the second edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, including a new preface; and of

Their Trotsky and Ours in book form with a new introduction; and the production of the second edition of *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, incorporating photo pages (known in the book trade as a "photo signature") by the end of the year. Cannon's *Struggle for a Proletarian Party* will appear at the beginning of 2003. Also in the works for later next year are *Teamster Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs and a new issue of *Nouvelle Internationale*.

L'histoire du trotskysme américain is to be followed by a Spanish edition of the book to be published in July together with a new English-language edition.

Both these titles will include the photo signature first compiled for the French translation. The 25 pages of photographs span the years of the Russian Revolution of 1917 to the beginning of World War II in 1939. Enlarged reproductions of these photos and the accompanying captions were displayed to striking effect around the meeting hall.

The 12 talks recorded in *The History of American Trotskyism* were given in the spring of 1942 in a workers' hall in New York. The book was first published in June 1944 in the midst of World War II. At the time, Cannon and other central leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were serving jail terms after being convicted under the thought-control Smith Act for their revolutionary ideas. Cannon departed prison seven months later, resuming his role in leading

the party.

In the book Cannon recounts the story of how he and Maurice Spector, a leader of the Communist Party in Canada, received copies of Trotsky's critique of Stalin's draft program for the Communist International in their capacity as members of the program commission at the Sixth Congress held in Moscow in 1928. While it was accidental that both these revolutionists found themselves on this commission, certain experiences were necessary for Trotsky's views to get their attention.

Cannon later recalled that after reading Trotsky's document what had struck him most was how sloppy he had gotten over the previous several years in thinking about politics from a world perspective. You can't fight effectively in any country without starting with a world program, he explained.

In the foreword to the 1929 edition of *The Third International After Lenin*, Trotsky wrote about the discussion that ensued at the program commission meeting, which had a big impact on both Cannon and Spector.

"At the congress, the Program Commission posed the question of what was to be done with a critique whose author had not only been excluded from the Communist International but exiled to Central Asia" wrote Trotsky, referring to himself. "Some timid and isolated voices were raised to say that one should also learn from one's opponents and that correct thoughts remained correct, independently of who formulated them. However a much stronger group prevailed, almost without resistance or struggle. A respectable old lady—she was formerly Clara Zetkin [1857-1933, a long-time leader of the German labor movement]—said that no ideas emanating from Trotsky could be considered correct. She was merely carrying out a task given her behind the scenes. Assigning dishonorable tasks to people of unchallengeable reputation is the Stalin system."

Openings to promote book in France

Flying in from Paris to participate on the panel was Derek Jeffers, an auto worker in the Peugeot plant and a member of the General Confederation of Workers. "This book appears for the first time in France at a time when a new government has been installed with the aim of reestablishing the competitiveness of French imperialism," stated Jeffers, who together with several other supporters in France helped to translate and edit *L'histoire du trotskysme américain* and other Pathfinder French-language publications.

"It comes out at a time when the French bourgeoisie is preparing to deepen its offensive against workers in France with attacks on retirement rights, health and unemployment insurance, and by reinforcing the repressive arsenal of the state," said Jeffers. "But these attacks have sparked resistance involving demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of workers as well as strikes."

Jeffers described the political openings to distribute revolutionary literature in France. Pathfinder books have been placed in 25 bookstores in the Paris area, he noted. Five times the number of books were placed in these stores in 2001 as in the previous year.

"There are lessons for today's fighters on every page of *The History of American Trotskyism*," stated Jeffers. "As with *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* and *Their Trotsky and Ours*, the publication and distribution of this book can contribute a lot to a new generation of fighters who are looking for Marxism, for communism. It can help those fighters to avoid getting sidetracked" by those who in the name of communism and of Trotskyism called for a vote for the Gaullist candidate, incumbent French president Jacques Chirac, in the recent presidential elections.

Reaching out to young people in Quebec

"This book is extremely important for us," said Alexandre Lampron, a leader of

'Young people are looking for answers'

BY PATRICIA O'BEIRNE
AND AL CAPPE

Among those attending the Montreal book launch meeting was Saidou Sanoussi, a student from the West African country of Niger. Sanoussi attends the University of Quebec in Montreal as part of an exchange program with Egypt's Université Senghor. He first came into contact with the Young Socialists at a Pathfinder literature table, where a pamphlet by Thomas Sankara caught his eye.

"In my country you cannot talk about revolution without talking about Sankara," he said. "Student militants quote him in their speeches and his photo can be found in many dormitory rooms."

"I liked the meeting because it was inspired by real experiences. There was nothing invented," said Sanoussi. "I did not expect to find an organization like this here in North America."

"Books like these are difficult to find in Niger," he added. "When I came back from a trip to Algeria my friends grabbed all the books I had bought. Young people are frustrated and are looking for answers."

Chantale Castonguay, 23, a political science student at the University of Montreal, also expressed her appreciation for the meeting and her eagerness to now read the book. "It's not about just reading the history of what happened a long time ago, but about things that keep going on today," she

said. "I hadn't thought about that before." Castonguay first met the Young Socialists when some Cuban youth leaders on tour in Canada came to speak on her campus.

"Could you please tell me who these youth are that are trying to build a socialist organization in Haiti?" asked Rose Marie, a worker from Haiti currently living in Montreal.

She described the book launch meeting as "very enriching and instructive. It's a meeting that leaves me with a lot of hope. With patience and courage we will be able to change this system. It doesn't surprise me that there's such a movement in North America. What surprises me is that so many people have embraced it," she said.

French edition of 'Trotskyism'

the Young Socialists in Quebec who also spoke at the meeting. Having *L'histoire du trotskyisme américain* available, he said, gives socialists the opportunity to reach out to workers and young people in Quebec where the substantial majority of people speak French.

"The issue of national oppression is a life-and-death question for the Young Socialists in Canada," said Lampron. "Many young Quebecois stubbornly refuse to learn English in the mandatory English classes in school because it's presented as the way to get ahead. The Québécois are discriminated against at all levels and English is still the language of advancement."

Lampron pointed to how the YS in Canada joins with others inside and outside Quebec in campaigning for Quebec independence, and how these efforts are part of building an international communist movement.

Lampron said he was particularly struck by the chapter of *L'histoire* describing the strikes and battles of the Teamsters union in Minneapolis in 1934. "At first, I looked at this chapter as a recipe for conducting a good strike," he said. "But what it really shows is how we can act as revolutionaries and class conscious workers to prepare for the big struggles that are coming."

Lampron described how members of the Young Socialists in Canada have gotten jobs in the garment industry and in meatpacking plants to be part of the efforts to build industrial fractions of the communist movement in these industries. Two days earlier 60 workers at the garment plant where Lampron works had been hospitalized after breathing toxic fumes. Some 3,000 others had been evacuated. For two hours the cops who were called kept the workers from leaving the parking lot and escaping the source of the danger.

'Historic step' for communist movement

Another featured speaker at the event was Jack Barnes, national secretary of the SWP in the United States, the party founded by Cannon and other proletarian revolutionaries. Barnes is the author of the preface to the new book.

The meeting marked a "historic step" in building the communist movement, said Barnes. He described the event as a celebration of the Communist League and the Young Socialists in Canada, and of the supporters of the movement, including those in France and Belgium, who had contributed to the publication of the new book.

The gigantic step forward taken in producing this title, he noted, "will prevent us from ever again publishing a new book of importance except in three languages."

It will also be less and less possible to produce a book without a photo signature. "These photos allow you to sit down with any fighter, whatever their language, and discuss what's in this book," said Barnes. "You can have a whole class on just one picture."

To illustrate this point, Barnes referred to the photo of Nazi storm troopers taking

over a union hall in Berlin in 1933. They're doing it as a very casual thing, he noted, just strolling into the hall. This underlines Cannon's point that "fascism triumphed without even a scuffle in the streets." This, he said, "is the worse and most demoralizing of defeats—a defeat without a battle."

Barnes emphasized the importance of the subtitle of the book, "Report of a participant." Like so many of the works of Lenin, which were also the accounts of a participant involved in building a revolutionary party, this book is the "generalization of practical activity. In fact analysis is impossible without this," he said.

The book has two main themes, said Barnes. One is the great change in the world brought about by the 1917 events in Russia, in which the Bolsheviks demonstrated how to make a socialist revolution, defend it, and selflessly offer it to the world. The second theme involves the fact that the book was written by a participant in the class struggle, recording experiences and lessons for fellow fighters who are communist and for those who don't yet know they're communist, he said.

Proletarian social movement

In his remarks introducing Barnes, Michel Praire drew an analogy between the period of isolation of the communist movement from 1928-32 that Cannon called the "dog days," and the experiences of the communist movement during the retreat of the labor movement in the 1990s. "We are perhaps today in a period like that of 1932 when the labor movement began showing signs of renewed activity," he said.

The book being celebrated at the meeting, said Barnes, helps prepare workers and youth to face the kind of period that is unfolding. Today, as in 1932, it is possible to see the initial elements of a proletarian social movement that are necessary to transform the union movement.

Although there are no social movements of the proletariat today, there are individual fighters who are not only involved in particular fights but who also show up at other struggles, the SWP leader said. No one knows, he emphasized, how long it will take to go from a period like that of 1932 to the kind of rapid developments seen in 1934, when major strikes in Toledo, Minneapolis, and San Francisco paved the way for the labor upsurge that built the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO).

Great changes are not just opportunities for a revolutionary party, but can also lead to it being shattered, said Barnes. "Any party not completely proletarianized and prepared will shatter in the face of these opportunities."

U.S. rulers plan preemptive strikes

The SWP national secretary also commented on some key developments in world politics. In several major speeches presented by U.S. ruling class spokespeople over the past couple of weeks, including President George Bush's address at West Point on June 1 and a couple of talks pre-



Nazi storm troopers casually take over union hall in Berlin, Germany, in 1933. "Fascism triumphed without even a scuffle in the streets," wrote communist leader James P. Cannon. This "is the worst and most demoralizing of defeats...a defeat without a battle." Photo is among others from that period that appears in new Pathfinder title.

sented by Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz, a course of action was unambiguously laid out towards taking preemptive action against North Korea, Iraq, and Iran, said Barnes. These countries, described by Bush as the "axis of evil," have been singled out for attack because they have the economic capacity and technical ability to develop and deploy intermediate range intercontinental ballistic missiles and pose a challenge to U.S. imperialism's drive to dominate the world.

"We must assume the U.S. rulers will do what they say," Barnes said. Washington intends to take preemptive action, knowing, for example, that the Koreans have tested missiles that can reach Alaska, and the Iranians already have missiles that can reach Europe.

This is being put together simultaneously with the U.S. rulers' approach to "precrime," said Barnes. The rulers' "pre-emptive strike" at home is aimed at stopping someone before they even prepare to commit a crime. Among the steps they're taking are the detention without charges of U.S. citizens as well as noncitizens, and fingerprinting visitors to the United States.

"The fight to carry out preemptive strikes against the enemy abroad is an extension of their strikes against the enemy at home," he said.

The SWP leader commented on the bourgeois propaganda campaign around the danger of "dirty bombs." Working people should never forget "that there was a time when dirty, filthy bombs were used," said Barnes, dropped by the U.S. rulers them-

selves on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. These bombs "had even more of an effect afterwards" in killing and maiming tens of thousands of people.

In the Middle East, in the face of decades of brutality, "wave after wave of courageous young people will not stop fighting. But they cannot find a program to fight effectively," said Barnes. This is one example of the remaining effect today of the Stalinist record of blocking the road toward forging a revolutionary leadership. As a result, many Palestinian fighters who step forward are organized by one or another radical bourgeois outfit—backed by regimes in Syria, Iran, or Iraq—and diverted from a course of building revolutionary organizations, he said.

Although there are communist nuclei in only a few countries in the world today—a world communist movement will only be built through the "blood and hell of the coming decades," Barnes noted—the resistance of working people will continue. "The book translation and publication program presents the record of fighters, learning a fighting tradition, and renewing our fights. "This is our preemptive work" for the battles that are coming, he said.

Meeting participants responded enthusiastically to a fund pitch to help finance the next steps of the French publishing program, contributing some \$1,300 to this effort.

Roger Calero from New York and Patricia O'Beirne from Toronto contributed to this article.

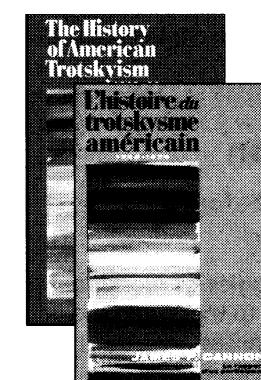
Available in July in English, French, and Spanish

History of American Trotskyism Report of a Participant

by James P. Cannon

"Trotskyism is not a new movement, a new doctrine, but the restoration, the revival of genuine Marxism as it was expounded and practiced in the Russian Revolution and in the early days of the Communist International."

James P. Cannon, 1942



This is the story—told by a leading participant—of the formative years of the communist movement in the United States.

In twelve talks given in 1942, James P. Cannon recalls the efforts from 1919 to 1938 by communists in the United States to emulate the Bolsheviks and build a new kind of proletarian party. In this fast-moving account, Cannon carries the story from the first steps forward by vanguard workers politically responding to the victory of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, up to the eve of World War II, when the communist organization in the United States takes the name Socialist Workers Party.

Having joined the Socialist Party in 1908 when he was 18, Jim Cannon became a traveling organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World before and during World War I. A supporter of the SP's working-class left wing, he was a founding leader of the United States and member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1922. He served as Socialist Workers Party national secretary until 1953 and national chairman until 1972. (From the back cover of the 2002 edition.) Special price: \$18.00.

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12; or visit www.pathfinderpress.com; or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Volunteers keep Pathfinder titles in print

The publication of Pathfinder books, like the goal of keeping them in print, would not be possible without the work of the 150 volunteers worldwide who participate in the Pathfinder reprint project, reported Susan Berman to the Montreal meeting. Berman is a member of the Canadian Auto Workers union in Toronto and a volunteer in the project.

"We meet deadlines to ensure the books get out to today's fighters while maintaining the high quality of Pathfinder books," she said. The volunteers are very close to their goal of having 75 percent of all Pathfinder books in digital form by July 1. "We have just eight titles to go," noted Berman.

The volunteers in Canada also play a crucial role in both selling books to stores and libraries and filling orders that come

into the Pathfinder Canada distribution center. Thanks to their work, sales across the country have grown from an average of \$800 a month two years ago to \$2,400 a month in 2002.

Supporters have also been extremely successful in getting out to bookstores and libraries in the area and obtaining orders for Pathfinder literature, Berman said. One leading cross-country chain has established an account, and 20 independent bookstores have placed repeat orders. Several large book orders have also been placed by professors for their university courses.

Volunteers have also had quite a bit of success visiting high school libraries in the Toronto area. So far seven have ordered Pathfinder books. One school librarian ordered 83 titles at a total value of \$1,600.

Nelson Mandela meets with victim of Lockerbie frame-up

BY REBECCA HUTCHINSON

DUNDEE, Scotland—Former South African president Nelson Mandela met with the Libyan national being held in solitary confinement at a Glasgow prison June 10. The man, Abdelbasset Ali Mohmed al Megrahi, was convicted on charges relating to the 1988 explosion of an airliner over Lockerbie, Scotland, in which 270 people were killed.

Megrahi, who says he was a member of the Libyan intelligence service, was sentenced to life in prison January 2001 after a Scottish panel of judges sitting in a special court in Holland relied on circumstantial evidence to find him guilty of bombing Pan Am Flight 103. At the trial, Al-Amin Khalifa Fhimah, who was accused alongside Megrahi, was acquitted.

A panel of five Scottish judges turned down Megrahi's appeal of his conviction March 14. The next day he was flown under heavy guard to Glasgow's Barlinnie Prison to serve out his sentence.

After meeting Megrahi, Mandela called for a new appeal of the conviction and asked it be heard by either the Privy Council, the highest Appeal Court in the United Kingdom, or the European Court of Human Rights.

Mandela also condemned the imposition of 20 years of solitary confinement on the prisoner—claimed to be needed for his own protection—to be “psychological persecution” and a “second punishment.” The South African leader called for the Libyan to be moved to a Muslim country where he would be able to mix with other prisoners.

Mandela's call comes in the wake of the issuance of a scathing report on the conviction of Megrahi by Hans Koechler. Koechler was appointed by United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan to act as his observer at the trial. After the appeal was rejected,

Koechler said Megrahi's defense lawyers should be investigated by the Law Society of Scotland because they “didn't appear to act as representatives of the appellant. They seemed to have their own agenda.” This included not calling any defense witnesses or mentioning that the key prosecution witness, a native of Malta, had been “repeatedly invited for holiday trips to Scotland by Scottish police.”

At the press conference, Mandela cited the criticisms of Megrahi's conviction made by a four-judge commission from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and concluded “it will be a pity if no court reviews the case itself.” Assistant secretary general of the Union of Arab Lawyers Sabra Ammar described the proceedings as a “political trial.” Speaking from Tripoli in Libya, Megrahi's brother, Mohamed Ali, is quoted in the Scottish press saying that “nobody from our country and society believes in Western justice.”

The U.S. rulers have used the Pan Am plane explosion to further their attacks on Libya. Since the people of that country overthrew a U.S.-backed monarch in 1969 they have been subjected to economic embargoes and military assaults by Washington. Along with the monarch, the new government



Nelson Mandela speaks after meeting Abdelbasset Ali Mohmed al Megrahi

headed by the bourgeois nationalist figure Col. Muammar Gaddafi forced the U.S. and British military to vacate their military bases in the country. Banks and oil companies owned by U.S. and European capitalists were nationalized.

In 1979, Washington branded the government of Libya as a terrorist regime. Nearly a decade later U.S. president Ronald Reagan, alleging that Libya was responsible for the bombing of a West Berlin nightclub in which two U.S. military personnel died, banned nearly all trade and financial interactions with Libya. That same year U.S. forces bombed Tripoli, killing 37 people, including Gaddafi's daughter.

At the trial, prosecutors relied on testimony about the activities of Megrahi in relation to Libyan Arab Airlines and connections with airport personnel to win a conviction.

But in recent weeks both Labour Party

member of Parliament Tam Dalyell and Megrahi's new solicitor Edward MacKechnie told the press that Megrahi explained he was employed by Libyan Arab Airlines as a cover for buying spare parts and planes for his country in face of the sanctions.

Megrahi was never called to the stand to give evidence at the trial even though his former solicitor Alistair Duff is said to have been aware of his activities.

Ari Fleischer, spokesperson for U.S. president George Bush, praised the rejection of Megrahi's appeal, calling it a “vindication of successive United States administrations.” Fleischer demanded Tripoli pay compensation to the families of those killed on the Pan Am flight. “The completion of the appeal does not end United States sanctions,” he said, “but should spur Libya to take quick action to fully comply with the requirements of the United Nations Security Council.”

Unions must break from two-party system

Continued from Page 15

basic relationship of class forces is decided. Only by recognizing and acting on this reality can a union leadership unleash labor's political power, and alter the political course of the United States.

Such a union leadership will think socially and act politically. It will give a revolutionary direction to working people of city

and countryside, confident that out of the determined struggle to defend our own class interests a new society will emerge.

Independent working-class political action points above all toward the workers and our allies establishing a government that acts to advance our interests, not those of our exploiters—a workers and farmers government. Taking political power out of the hands of the exploiters is the only way to halt once and for all the escalating attacks against the unions and against every struggle by working people and the oppressed. It is the only way to end the use of government power to advance the class interests of the exploiters at the expense of working people. It is the only way to end imperialist war, racial oppression, and discrimination against women.

The struggle to meet the most elementary needs of the working class and to defend the unions' right to exist as fighting workers organizations requires a political instrument independent of the capitalist parties that administer the state for the exploiters. The unions must break from the capitalist two-party system and forge an independent labor party that can mobilize the producers to fight for a workers and farmers government. And they must support every initiative by the exploited and oppressed that is an advance along this road.

Strategic perspectives for labor

How does the Socialist Workers Party advance these strategic perspectives, this program, in the labor movement?

We start from the recognition that an understanding of this class-struggle strategy among broad layers of workers can be advanced only in the course of battles against the employers and the government to defend their conditions of work, their livelihood, and their unions, and through participation in political struggles around such fundamental issues as imperialist war, national oppression, the oppression of women, and attacks on democratic rights. We actively participate in struggles on the job where we work, in battles waged by workers in other cities and industries, and in progressive protest actions initiated inside or outside the unions.

We participate in and champion all working-class fights for demands for immediate relief from the effects of the capitalist crisis and for better conditions of work and life. We take these struggles to our unions in the most effective ways we can—be it raising them in our union committees, with our elected officials, or at our union membership meetings. We seek to mobilize union support and broaden the discussion on what is at stake for the labor movement in each of these battles.

As participants in these struggles, we advance broader social and class demands, explaining them through our socialist election campaigns, through the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, through weekly public Militant Labor Forums in every city where SWP branches exist, and through discussions with other activists in these battles.

We pose the need to fight for greater workers control, exercised through the unions, over working conditions and decisions that affect workers on the job.

We explain the need for the labor movement to fight for social rights such as health care and adequate pensions for all working people. These should be government-financed on a nationwide scale, not tied to the bosses' profits on an industry-by-industry basis. The unions should take the lead in resisting the continual drive by the government and employers to make meeting these life-or-death needs the responsibility of individuals and their families.

We advance immediate, democratic, and transitional demands in different ways and combinations, depending on the concrete political situation. At all times, we seek to explain them in such a way as to increase understanding of the need for a change in which classes govern. Without the axis of our fight being to advance toward the establishment of a workers and farmers government, no series of demands, no program—no matter how far-reaching and radical—can be in fact a revolutionary program.

As we go through battles side by side with other workers, we take advantage of every experience in the international and national class struggle to explain that the capitalist system is the source of the crisis facing our class and its allies. We present a socialist perspective to those in the working class who are thinking about how to organize and lead an effective fight to advance the interests of the exploited.

In presenting this perspective, we can be very concrete, pointing to the achievements of revolutionary Cuba, where the workers and farmers took power into their own hands and used that power to uproot capitalism and begin the construction of a socialist society. We can also point to what is being accomplished by the workers and farmers government in Nicaragua today. These examples show what is possible when a government of the exploiters, which defends the interests of the capitalists and landowners, is replaced by a government of the exploited. How much more will be possible in the United States, given its great wealth and industrial and agricultural capacity, not only to benefit U.S. workers and farmers, but to help feed and raise the living standards of working people around the world!

Impact of welfare on women

Continued from Page 13

undercounted, surpassed the century's greatest wave of immigration, from 1900–1910, when the number of foreign-born residents grew by 31 percent,” observed the daily. In addition, “for the first time in the 1990s, immigrants moved far beyond the big coastal cities and Chicago and Denver and Houston, into the Great Plains, the South and Appalachia.” One example is that the foreign-born population of Franklin County, Alabama, grew from 0.19 percent to 5.55 percent, or from 79 people to 1,734.

The Center for Immigration Studies (CIS), which advocates stricter immigration controls, notes that “no country has ever attempted to assimilate and incorporate 31 million newcomers.” Director of research Steven Camarota said, “these numbers represent an enormous social experiment with high stakes.”

The U.S. ruling class, in search of cheap

labor, knows that this massive labor inflow is essential to their “productivity miracle”—which is based more than anything else on low wages, forced overtime, lengthening of the workweek, and wide use of part-time and temporary work.

Unlike the worried partisans of the CIS, Barnes welcomes these “reinforcement brigades” that strengthen the fighting capacity of the working class. “The experience and traditions—and image—of the working class and labor movement in the United States are being enriched by the diverse cultures and lessons of struggles by workers and peasants from Latin America and the Caribbean, from Asia and the Pacific, from Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere,” he says.

“The historic wave of immigration transforms the proletarian movement in the United States into something more and more recognizable as the class that will overthrow capitalism,” Barnes concludes.

From Pathfinder

by Jack Barnes

Cuba and the Coming American Revolution

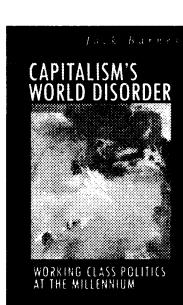
There will be a victorious revolution in the United States before a victorious counterrevolution in Cuba —Fidel Castro, March 1961

Cuba and the Coming American Revolution is about the struggles of working people in the imperialist heartland, the youth who are attracted to them, and the example set by the people of Cuba that revolution is not only necessary—it can be made. Preface by Mary-Alice Waters. Special offer: \$10.00

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Frictions emerge over enlargement of European Union

BY GREG McCARTAN

The enlargement of the European Union (EU) eastward, and the question of how to bring Russia closer to "Europe," is causing frictions among the EU member states.

The EU is pressing to admit 10 new member countries from eastern and central Europe, along with Cyprus and Malta, by 2004. Changes in immigration laws, border controls, subsidies to farmers, and whether or not the expanded European Union will be a two-tier setup are all points of conflict roiling up as the deadline nears.

A proposal by the governments of Britain, France, and Spain to create a EU presidency that would have substantial power has run into opposition from the government of Austria, a view reflecting the concerns of those member countries with smaller economies or populations. Rather than a rotating presidency among all member states with a six-month term as is currently the case, the proposal would give the chief executive a five-year term.

"I cannot accept the argument often quoted that one could expect the larger member states to manage the presidency more effectively than smaller countries do," said Austria's foreign minister Benita Ferrero-Waldner. "Equality of all member states has been, and still is, the basis for the smooth functioning of the EU."

The *Financial Times* noted that officials of the three larger countries "argue that small countries, such as Malta or Estonia, cannot be expected to take on such a big responsibility while large countries such as Germany would have to wait more than 12 years for their turn." The paper noted that the German government favors a "federal model—in line with the smaller countries."

Irish gov't's 'number one' priority

Several days later Irish prime minister Bertie Ahern warned the EU that enlargement will be in jeopardy if a referendum this fall on the expansion is again rejected by voters in Ireland. A year ago a referendum on the Nice Treaty, which outlines a new EU structure, was voted down.

The Irish nationalist Sinn Fein formed a Peace and Neutrality Alliance along with the Green Party, National Platform, and others to campaign for a "no" vote. Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams explained at the time that the treaty "paves the way for the creation of a new superpower, an EU superstate with its own army dominated by the largest countries." The new EU structure would allow "larger states like Germany, France, Italy, and Britain to automatically treble their votes in making EU laws from 2005 while small states like Ireland only double theirs." He condemned the proposed

60,000-strong EU Rapid Reaction Force as "an army designed for war, an army to impose by force the interests of the EU or an elite within it."

Ahern said adoption of the treaty is the "number one" priority of the Irish government. As part of this effort, he is reported to have struck a deal in which EU powers attending the Seville summit would agree to assure Ireland's military neutrality. Ahern is to declare that Ireland's "traditional policy of military neutrality is not, will not, and cannot be affected by the treaty of Nice or any other treaty." The Irish prime minister added that Nice "does not impose any legal binding military defense commitment or require that Ireland participate in the establishment of a European army." Enlargement cannot legally take place until all 15 members ratify the Nice accords.

There are also worries in the wake of strong showings in elections across Europe of parties, such as the National Front in France, that campaign against the EU and blame it for rising economic and social problems facing working people and middle-class layers.

Günter Verheugen, European commissioner for enlargement, told reporters that "there is a danger that populist movements in European countries will exploit the enlargement as an attractive target to attack European integration in coming elections."

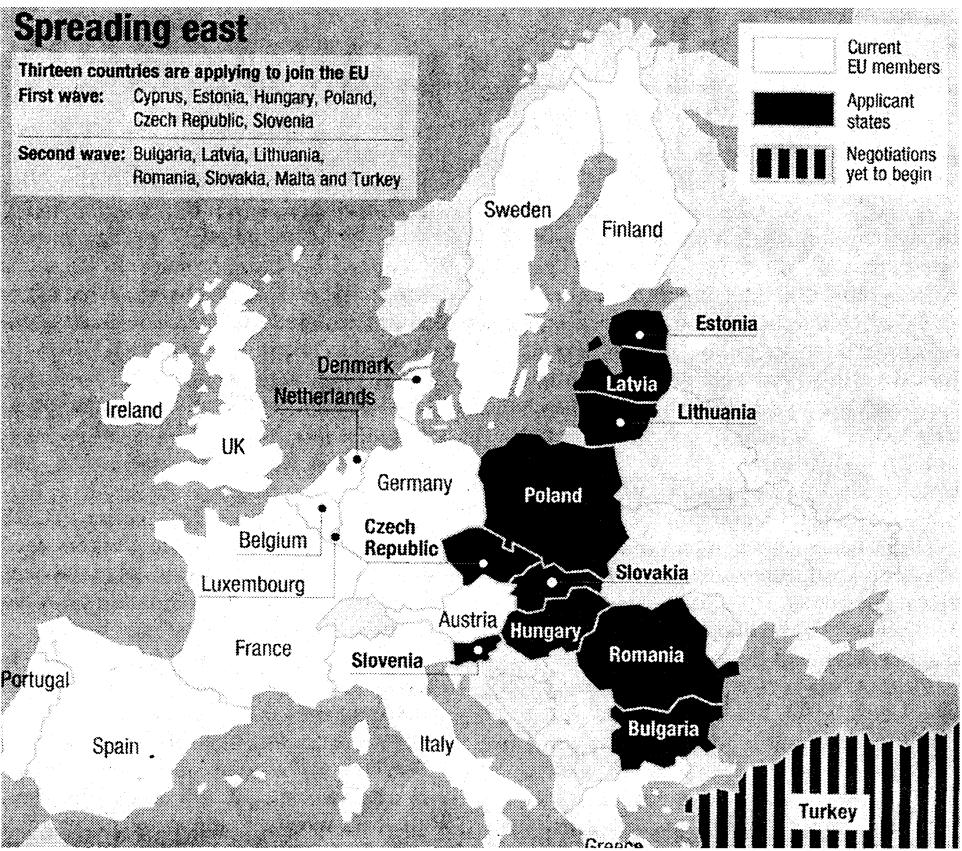
Conflict continues over Cyprus

The government of Greece has reiterated its stand last week that it will block enlargement if any member state attempts to prevent a divided Cyprus from being admitted to the EU in 2004. Greece's ambassador to the EU said it was "unthinkable for any Greek [political] party to vote in favor of accession that does not include Cyprus." He added that if Cyprus is "not among the first lot, there will be no enlargement."

Cyprus is an island in the Mediterranean that is divided between Greece and Turkey. In the early 1970s the military dictatorship then running Greece staged a military coup in Cyprus with the aim of annexing the country. The rulers of Turkey responded by occupying the island's northern third, allegedly to protect the Turkish-Cypriot minority, and installed a puppet regime.

Last year Turkish prime minister Bulent Ecevit threatened to annex the northern third of the country if the island is allowed to join the EU without a settlement to the conflict. Turkey has applied for membership in the European Union but is not among those being considered for admittance in 2004.

On the particularly explosive issue of financing the eastward expansion, Czech foreign minister Jan Kavan said that any delay



by the EU past October in finalizing agreements with applicants would be "a major problem." The EU foreign ministers decided in early June to put off discussion about the financing until after the federal elections in Germany.

Enlargement regulations

The financial terms and a host of EU regulations that the 10 new countries will be subjected to are making the expansion a hard sell in eastern Europe. In March the European Commission released a poll indicating that in only four countries—Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Cyprus—do a majority of people see joining the EU as a "good thing." The other countries up for admission are the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, and Slovenia.

With the exception of Cyprus and Malta, capitalism was overturned in each of these countries following World War II, and their economies and social expectations remain marked by the resulting social transformations. Press reports indicate that the impact on working people of the economic slowdown in Europe over the past year is also making many question the benefits of EU membership.

In Poland, for example, unemployment stands at 18 percent nationwide, with some areas hitting 35 percent. The recent bankruptcy of the shipyard in Gdansk has put 6,000 workers on the street, and the loss of jobs will have a wide effect in the area.

Farmers in Poland and other countries face the threat of losing their land in face of drastically reduced subsidies and moves to legalize the sale of land. Istvan Majoros, an analyst at McKinsey and Co., told the *Washington Post* that the "subsidy alone that a farmer in Austria receives per acre is enough to buy an acre of land in Hungary. The entire land ownership question is still a hot political issue and needs to be sorted out

before any foreign ownership of land can be considered."

'Two speed Europe'

In a feature series entitled, "Not everybody's pot of gold," the *Post* reviewed some of the details of the enlargement process.

"Brussels has effectively legislated a two-speed Europe after enlargement, with a striking disparity between what the existing and new members will receive," the article stated.

To limit financial transfers to the east, EU officials put a ceiling on payments for member states at 4 percent of a country's economic output. With a low gross domestic product compared to their counterparts in western Europe, the new members will hit the ceiling almost immediately. For example, the 10 candidates will receive on the average \$109 per capita for infrastructure projects while Greece, Ireland, Portugal, and Spain—the poorest of the current EU members—will receive an average of \$222 per capita.

There is an even greater disparity for farmers. In the first year of enlargement farmers who live in new member countries will receive 25 percent of the subsidies that farmers in countries already in the EU are entitled to. It will take 10 years for the subsidies to be evened out.

The host of regulations that each new country must adopt is also a bone of contention. Jaroslaw Pierras, the Polish minister charged with coordinating the country's efforts to join the EU, said that today "we are re-regulating things that were deregulated in the 1990s. In some areas we start to ask questions: 'Why this regulation?' They will say, 'Simply because it is there.'"

While some countries have received the okay to have longer periods to meet various criteria, the *Post* reported that overall, the "EU officialdom in Brussels has been so successful in pushing the accession countries to absorb these laws that new members have a higher degree of implementation of EU laws than the existing member states."

Gap with U.S. imperialism

The goal of the British, French, German, Italian, and other imperialist powers on the European continent in forming the EU was to create a counterweight to U.S. imperialism in the world. The *Post* points out a number of ways that the "golden moment is eluding Europe." The big-business newspaper assesses that "European government officials have been reluctant to take the political risks necessary to reform rigid labor laws that discourage job growth by making it difficult and expensive to fire workers in response to changing business conditions."

In Germany, France, and Italy, the "public remains reluctant to embrace a form of 'shareholder capitalism' that it associates with American cultural domination, widening inequality, and a kind of cut-through competition incompatible with the European lifestyle," the paper reported.

"As a result," the *Post* series concluded, "despite a workforce that is highly productive when it works, the euro zone remains a high-cost, low-growth economy that not only is losing ground to the United States but also is increasingly unable to finance social programs it cherishes."

EU presses Russia to 'liberalize' energy prices

BY GREG McCARTAN

A conflict over Russian access to Kaliningrad, a city located on the Baltic Sea that is part of Russia, took front stage at a summit meeting between European Union (EU) ministers and representatives of Moscow at the end of May.

Kaliningrad is surrounded by Poland and Lithuania. EU officials are insisting that residents of the city will have to seek visas to travel through the two countries on their way to and from Russia. Russian president Vladimir Putin is demanding travel corridors be established so Russian nationals can come and go as they currently do. The issue "met with no understanding" by EU officials, Putin told the press after the meeting, and added that he considers the question "a qualitative test of our relations with the EU."

The summit was supposed to showcase agreements between Moscow and the European Union on economic issues. EU officials have been demanding Russia "liberalize" its vast energy resources, that is, open them up for capitalist exploitation. Brussels threatened to block Moscow's attempts to join the World Trade Organization unless it closes a gap between the domestic and ex-

port prices it charges for oil and gas. Pascal Lamy, EU trade commissioner, said the price difference represents a subsidy to local industry.

Gas, electricity, and rail lines remain nationalized in Russia. Gazprom, the state energy company, sells gas on the domestic market for around \$15 a 1,000 cubic meters, while the export price stands at \$95 per 1,000 cubic meters.

On the eve of the summit the EU proclaimed Russia had a "market economy status," lessening the threat that Russian exports of steel and other goods will be met with antidumping tariffs by EU countries. In return, Russian officials committed themselves to the "gradual elimination of restrictions on trade and other steps aimed at liberalization of its energy markets and the gradual implementation of market principles in energy policies."

The Bush administration also gave Russia "market economy" status, but Moscow is pressing for exemption for the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which also limits normal trade relations.

The *Financial Times* noted of the EU declaration: "Of course, Russia still falls short of being a genuine market economy in many

ways, as it slowly unravels the state domination of its economy. The European Union move is more a recognition of progress towards market relations than of their achievement."

Following the Bush-Putin summit, as the U.S. president was on his way to meet with top officials on the continent, the paper noted that "Europe should be in a better mood. Germany is united. The cold war is over. The European Union is about to embark on an historic enlargement eastwards."

"But collectively, America's European Union allies are in a grumpy mood, not only because of Washington's growing unilateralist stance on trade, global warming, and other foreign policy issues, over which former President Bill Clinton was just as unilateralist."

The *Times* worried that the "rapprochement between the two former cold war enemies [Moscow and Washington] could lead to European leaders being excluded from future arms control negotiations covering nuclear or conventional weapons. Europe, they add, will become an economic superpower destined to provide a bottomless purse for rebuilding war-torn states, but incapable of a matching security role."

Health care workers rally for a contract

BY MAGGIE TROWE
AND JACK WILLEY

NEW YORK—Chanting “What do we have? Union power! What kind of power? Union power!” more than 100 home health care workers and their supporters rallied in midtown Manhattan June 17 outside the offices of Premier Home Health Services, Inc., one of a dozen agencies that employ New York City’s 18,000 home health aides. The workers at each of the agencies have voted to join Local 1199 of the Service Employees International Union, winning more than 90 percent approval.

Home health care workers visit the homes of elderly people to provide many basic services. They cook, feed, and bathe senior citizens, as well as change bandages, dress wounds, and help them exercise.

Premier workers voted 20 months ago to join Local 1199, but the company has refused to negotiate a contract. On June 15, the workers voted to authorize a strike. During the rally a delegation of workers went to Premier’s offices to deliver written notification of their intent to strike in 30 days if the company does not negotiate a contract.

Workers at Premier receive no health coverage, no sick days, and no pensions. The company pays most workers \$6.25 per hour and many do not work full weeks.

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Speak Out! Stop Government Spying! Sun., June 30, 3:00 p.m. 3029-A Bessemer Road. Donation: \$4. Tel: (205) 780-0021.

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Behind the India-Pakistan Conflict. Speaker: Patrick O’Neill, *Militant* correspondent. Fri., June 21, 7:30 p.m. 168 Bloomfield Ave., 2nd Floor. Donation: \$5. Tel: (973) 481-0077.

NEW YORK Garment District

Government and employers attack health care. Workers fight back for their health and lives. Speaker: Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 21, 7:30 p.m. 545 8th Avenue, 14th Floor. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 693-7358.

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Workers’ Struggles Wrest Union Victories. Speaker: Bill Estrada, Socialist Workers Party, member, UFCW Local 342. Fri., June 21, 7:30 p.m. 599 W. 187th Street, 2nd Floor. Donation: \$5. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

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What’s Behind the Conflict between India and Pakistan? Fri., June 21, 7:30 p.m. 2761 Dundas St. W. Tel: (416) 767-3705.

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‘Che: Love, Politics, and Rebelliousness.’ A documentary by Cuban filmmaker Teresita Gómez. Fri., June 28, 7:00 p.m.

New Zealand Colonial Rule in the Pacific. Fri., July 5, 7:00 p.m. 129 Gloucester St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (03) 365-6055.

“I worked only 17 hours last week,” Yvonne Montague, 39, explained to the *Militant*. “I had six or seven time sheets totaling 17 hours at \$6.75 an hour.” Montague, who has worked for Premier since 1998, had a client for several years, but since that client died and a subsequent client switched agencies, she has not had steady work.

“When we work on holidays,” Montague said, “we only get \$1 an hour added on to our regular pay. We need \$8 or \$9 an hour, overtime pay, and guaranteed hours,” she stated.

Carmen Dennis, 33, agreed with Montague and added that the workers need medical benefits. “The health plan the boss offered us was just the Medicaid plan the government already offers,” she said.

Ramona Ortiz, who has worked at Premier for 10 years, makes \$7.50 an hour. “This company does not want to give us better wages or any benefits,” she said.

Workers at Premier can take a vacation only after working 2,000 hours in a year. With short weeks, “most of us never get a vacation,” Ortiz said. “We are demanding that the company use the same standard as others in the industry, that we get one hour of vacation for every 26 hours worked. So no matter how many hours we work in a year, everyone is guaranteed some time off.”



Militant/Jack Willey

More than 100 home health care workers and supporters rallied in Manhattan June 17 outside the offices of Premier Home Health Services, Inc. to demand a contract.

March in Scotland backs Irish struggle

Continued from Page 16
official and national committee.

A group of 40 rightists protested the move outside the Assembly. Their leader, pastor Jack Glass, accused the Assembly delegates of betraying the faith of Reformation leader John Knox. In 1979 Glass led a large mob of Loyalists who attacked and broke up a Glasgow march in support of political status for Irish republican prisoners.

Addressing the protest was Daithi Doolan, chair of Sinn Fein in Dublin. Sinn Fein is the Irish nationalist organization leading the struggle today to get British imperialist forces out of the country and to establish a united, democratic Ireland.

“Look at the number of young people here marching with dignity for a united and free Ireland,” Doolan said. “Sinn Fein is

no longer confined to West Belfast,” he continued. In the Irish Republic, which consists of the 26 counties of Ireland free of British occupation, Sinn Fein won five seats in elections to parliament on May 17, he said. And on June 6 Alex Maskey was elected mayor of Belfast, the first-ever Sinn Fein member to hold the post, bringing to an end more than 100 years of control by loyalist parties that had dominated the Belfast City Council. Loyalist is the name for those “loyal” to the union of Ireland with Britain.

Doolan demanded that London implement the Good Friday Agreement, which established a self-governing body in Belfast and set timetables for the end of direct British rule of the six occupied counties. The Sinn Fein leader warned that his organiza-

tion would not stand idly by while anti-Catholic violence organized by loyalist forces raged in Belfast and other parts of Ireland under British rule.

Doolan was referring to loyalist attacks on nationalists over the past few weeks in the Short Strand area of East Belfast, an enclave with a Catholic population of about 3,000 surrounded by a Protestant population of 60,000. Nationalists in the area have been bombarded with bricks and bottles, fireworks packed with shrapnel, and petrol bombs. A Catholic funeral in the area was attacked by around 300 rightists, and on June 7, 100 masked men with a banner saying, “No Short Strand nationalist or republicans in East Belfast” forced its way into a college campus and threatened to kill Catholic students.

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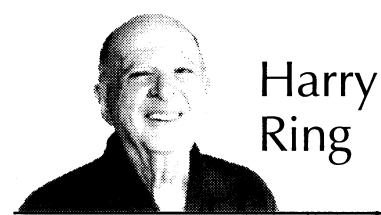
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The 'homeland'—"The government is installing biological decontamination centers at some veterans hospitals as part of a homeland pre-



Harry Ring

paredness plan that could cost up to \$200 million, Veterans Affairs Secretary Anthony Principi said.

Principi also said he would also consider suspending [!?] the VA's policy of open enrollment for all veterans to reduce a backlog of

treatment requests and maintain the quality of care provided at agency facilities"—Associated Press.

'Old Glory' getting older?—With the Kmart chain bankrupt, 200 of its stores are conducting deep discount sales prior to shutting down. In Utah, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reports on the remaining piles in area stores, mainly U.S. flags and "God Bless America" lawn signs. A Kmart spokesperson conceded, "It's possible some of them were left over."

They'll get back with you—Declares a headline in the Denver, Colorado, *Post*: "Poll: Teen girls earn less than boys." Said a spokesperson for Junior Achievement,

which made the survey: "Overall, we're troubled by the teen-age gender wage gap." Noting that surveys over the past three years turned up the same finding, he added: "We don't see any compelling data exactly why that's the case, so we'd like to do more research next year to get at that."

No management raises?—On the brink of bankruptcy, US Airways has made a few modest demands: \$950 million in wage givebacks from its unions; \$200 million in concessions from creditors, suppliers, and vendors; \$1 billion in loan guarantees from the feds.

Philosopher, big time—"Bankruptcy is not failure but a less pre-

ferred plan to success."—David Siegel, top dog at US Airways.

The education priority—"A fifth of teachers moonlight to make ends meet."—Headline, the *Times*, London.

Forget it—To avoid court action, the makers of Wonder Bread will drop the claim that the calcium in the bread makes children's minds work better and improves their memory. We do remember eating our last slice of Wonder Bread years back on reading a consumer report that such white breads had a longer shelf life because insects passed them by for lack of nutrition.

Wow, what a deal!—In San

Francisco, one-bedroom apartments had soared to an average monthly rent of \$2,172, but are now down to \$1,848.

Line forms on the left—In Hollywood it's said that you can't be too thin or too rich. For this column, we would say, we can't have too many clippings. Right now we're confronted with a delightful superabundance of clippings from veteran and new readers. *But, please, don't stop*. If your contribution fits the general thrust of the column, it will survive the bottleneck. Many thanks.

P.S. To new readers, send clippings to: Great Society c/o Pathfinder Books 4229 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90011.

New studies document impact of workfare on women

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

PITTSBURGH—Recent studies underscore two historic trends that are discussed in *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* by Jack Barnes, a Pathfinder Press title published a little more than one year ago.

The first has to do with the impact of former Democratic president Clinton's assault on welfare. In a front page article in the June 3 *New York Times* entitled, "Strict Limits on Welfare Benefits Discourage Marriage," the big-business paper noted that as the Bush administration seeks "welfare legislation with more stringent work requirements and more support for marriage, an unexpected contradiction is emerging."

Two recent "rigorous" studies of welfare programs in Connecticut and Iowa show, according to the *Times*, that the "stricter work requirements of contemporary welfare policy significantly reduce the chances that a single mother will wed." The researchers suggest two main reasons for this development.

"Like middle-class married women whose divorce rates spiked when jobs and rising wages made them more self-reliant, some women who moved from welfare to work may have become less willing to settle for the wrong man, they say. At the same time, strict work requirements and low wages may have left some mothers with less time, energy and income to attract a partner or nourish a relationship."

The author of the Connecticut study, Bruce Fuller, a social scientist at the University of California at Berkeley, said, "If tough-love work policies suppressed marriage at this magnitude nationwide, just under a quarter-million women would not be getting married in any one year." These figures mirror the longer-term trend of rising numbers of women holding jobs outside the home, along with a steep drop in the number of households headed by married couples, today

standing at a little more than 50 percent.

It was under the Clinton administration that the so-called Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 was passed. The bill's name was taken from Republican Newt Gingrich's Contract for America. The legislation eliminated Aid to Families with Dependent Children and limited welfare payments to any particular individual to five years.

Assault on Social Security

The effect of this legislation involves much more than Clinton's reactionary campaign pledge to "end welfare as we know it." As Jack Barnes says in *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*, "It was the biggest single success of the rulers so far in beginning to erode the federal Social Security system—a conquest won by working people through the struggles that built the industrial unions in the 1930s, and substantially extended through the mass civil rights movement of the 1960s."

This "was the first time in nearly two-thirds of a century," says Barnes, "that an entire category of working people—single mothers and their children—have been eliminated from the kinds of protections Social Security has guaranteed for retirees, children, workers injured or thrown out of a job, and others vulnerable to the instabilities and devastations inherent in capitalism, both in good times and bad."

Single mothers form a section of the working class that is expanding in the United States, a fact that marks an important change in the structure of the family. Barnes notes that "nearly a third of all children today are born to women who begin raising them in so-called single parent households, which currently make up roughly half of all family units."

Barnes says the change is "irreversible"—

a product of the greater economic independence women have achieved as a result of their increasing integration into the workforce, and of the social gains of struggles for women's liberation." At the same time, he says, this means "poverty and social crisis" for millions of working-class women and children, and "registers the reality of class relations under capitalism and the fact that only a socialist revolution can open the door to the transformation of these oppressive social relations."

This fact is brought home in the Iowa research, which revealed that the welfare-to-work program not only means "more work and less marriage," but also "less money." The *Times* reported that "when contributions from other household members were counted, the welfare-to-work mothers averaged \$300 less each month than mothers assigned to traditional welfare."

Many single mothers are forced to juggle two jobs, on top of taking care of their children

A Bush administration spokesman said that he saw nothing "inconsistent" in the research and the administration's plans to spend \$300 million on its pro-marriage campaign. One woman asked, "Are they going to give discounts on divorces when they promote marriage?"

Another "irreversible" historical trend is

the changing composition of the working class wrought by immigration. Barnes points out that "over the past half decade, the United States has taken in roughly half of all emigrants to the imperialist countries—one half!" and that "nearly 11 percent of the U.S. population today is foreign-born, and the percentage of immigrants in the ranks of the working class is substantially higher than that."

Gains of 90s did not lift all

More facts to back this up appeared in the June 5 *Times* in "Gains of 90s Did Not Lift All, Census Shows," another front-page article. The main conclusion of the Census Bureau report is that despite the "surging economy of the 1990s," the "poor remained entrenched."

The report contained figures on immigration from the 2000 census. More than half the foreign-born population—52 percent—came from Latin America, an increase of 44 percent in the decade. Of the 281.4 million people living in the United States in 2000, some 31.1 million were foreign-born, reported the *Times*. This represented an increase over 1990 of 11.3 million, or 57 percent.

"The increase in the immigrant population, which many state officials believe was

Continued on Page 10

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

25 CENTS

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

July 1, 1977

MADRID—The people of Spain streamed to the polls on June 15 and delivered a vote of massive repudiation to the system of fascist terror through which the capitalist class of Spain has ruled for the past forty years.

Participation was estimated at more than 80 percent of eligible voters. For everyone under sixty-two years of age, this was the first opportunity in their lives to participate in general elections, since the last ones were held in 1936.

The Alianza Popular (AP-Popular Alliance), an electoral formation openly based on adherence to Francoism, trailed behind the Unión de Centro Democrático (UCD—Union of the Democratic Center) and the Socialist and Communist parties, taking only 8.3 percent of the vote.

The defeat of the AP was also a defeat for the Catholic hierarchy, which has been among the strongest backers of Francoism. The day before the elections, a church commission came out with a declaration advising Catholics that the AP's program was most "in accord with the thinking of the church and thus consistent with the Catholic faith of the majority of the Spanish people."

The question of the right of the oppressed nations in Spain to self-determination came forth as a major issue confronting all parties in the elections.

Only three days before the elections, an estimated 400,000 Catalans attended a mass meeting demanding autonomy for Catalonia, which was sponsored by an electoral formation dominated by a right-wing Maoist organization, the Partido del Trabajo (Labor Party). The Madrid daily *El País* called it "the largest mass event celebrated in Catalonia since the end of the civil war."

June 30, 1952

The power of the steelworkers continued to hold sway in the mill towns of the nation as the great steel strike approached the one-month mark. Pickets played card, ball, or drowsed on cots in picket shanties outside steel mills throughout the nation. Management officials inside the plants struggled with the problems of keeping damage to the minimum as brick lining crumbled in open hearth furnaces. Steel town residents got a breath of clean air for the first time since the last steel strike.

Everything pointed to the truth of Philip Murray's statement to a rally of Gary steelworkers: "Taft-Hartley can't make steel." The steelworkers were once again proving that nothing can make steel except steelworkers.

And they are determined not to make any steel until they win their demands. Murray, speaking to the June 22 union rally in Gary, confronted a crowd of steelworkers many of whom carried signs reading "WE AS FREE AMERICANS WILL NOT WORK UNDER A TAFT-HARTLEY INJUNCTION."

Steelworker's wives in Bradock, Pa., home of the Edgar Thompson workers of U.S. Steel told a reporter: "The men are out now and they should stay out until it's settled. That's the only way to win," and "Let 'em strike. I'm just sorry we don't have John L. Lewis at the head of the union. When the coal miners go out, they make sure they get what they want," and "Nobody's looking out for the working class." But the cold furnaces and hushed mills were mute testimony to the fact that the working class is looking out for itself.

Workers in Argentina protest austerity measures



March in Telam, Cordoba, in Argentina during strike May 29, 2002. Trade unionists and unemployed workers protested against austerity measures imposed by the government of president Eduardo Duhalde. The actions coincided with the commemoration of the 1969 uprisings known as the *Cordobazo*. The IMF and World Bank have demanded that the government slash the budgets of provincial governments, which will gouge the social wage of working people, to pay interest on \$140 million of the foreign debt to those international banking institutions.

Israel out of occupied lands

The moves by the Israeli regime to militarily occupy several Palestinian cities and towns throughout the West Bank, and surround the refugee camps with fences, should be met with renewed protests by working people the world over. Working people in the United States have a particular responsibility to demand an immediate end to Washington's military aid to the Israeli regime.

While claiming opposition to a military invasion by Tel Aviv, the Bush administration continues to pour massive military aid into a regime that carries out an endless list of brutalities against the Palestinian people—mass arrests of men and women who are handcuffed and blindfolded and taken away in trucks, cold-blooded assassinations of fighters, and torture—all aimed at denying Palestinians their right to self-determination.

Despite their brutal military occupation, constant harassment, and encirclement of entire Palestinian communities, the Israeli rulers are incapable of crushing the resistance of the Palestinian masses.

The Israeli rulers are increasingly frustrated with their inability to suppress a new generation of Palestinians, who refuse to submit to the brutality of the Israeli capitalist regime and its imperialist backers in Washington, in spite of the bourgeois leadership that leads them into a dead end time and again.

Additions to political arsenal

The *Militant* welcomes the release of nine new books and pamphlets by Pathfinder this spring and summer. They are adding to the political arsenal workers, farmers, and youth have at their reach in a growing number of languages to help draw the lessons of class-struggle experiences, and the tumultuous wars and assaults imperialism will increasingly drag humanity into in the decades ahead.

One striking aspect of reports from book fairs, meetings such as the celebration in Montreal of the publication of the first French-language edition of *The History of American Trotskyism*, and other events is the international interchange and back and forth going on among youth and working people. And Pathfinder books are finding their way around as well, essential building blocks of the international communist movement.

In addition to *The History of American Trotskyism* in three languages, Pathfinder is releasing new editions in English and Spanish of *Their Trotsky and Ours* and the third English-language edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions*; and the *Organizational Principles of the Socialist Workers Party* in Spanish. The first edition of *New International* in Icelandic, which includes "U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War" and *We are the Heirs of the World's Revolutions* by Thomas Sankara are already being distributed around the world.

The expanding number of books available in English, French, and Spanish, as well as Icelandic and Swedish, that address communist strategy and theory are playing a crucial role in constructing a world communist movement. Working people who read in these languages have access to the same party-building lessons and revolutionary continuity of the workers' movement.

Oppose U.S. military adventure

Continued from front page
these terrorists, these killers."

While the numbers of people jailed in hellholes in Afghanistan and concrete boxes at the illegally-occupied U.S. military base in Guantánamo, Cuba, have grown, the U.S. government has charged only one person apprehended outside the United States with a criminal offense, and that is only because John Walker Lindh is a U.S. citizen. The rest are "brought to justice" by being threatened with lifetime imprisonment or execution after being dragged before drumhead military tribunals.

The U.S. rulers do face a problem. There are a number of countries that have the capacity to build and deploy long-range missiles topped with warheads capable of reaching the United States or threatening U.S. military bases. Without a perfected missile defense shield, Washington is driven to find and attack any country where the government is not to its liking and there is an indication that such weapons are being built or readied. It must do so in order to protect its rule of the world. The preemptive strikes are likely to be targeted military assaults, like the 1985 Israeli bombing of the nuclear reactor in Iraq.

In a parallel move, bipartisan support has been declared for the Bush administration's "preemptive" and "precrime" arrests, jailings of U.S. citizens without charges, secret hearings of immigrants detained by the government, and summary deportations. The violations of constitutional rights being carried out by the Justice Department against Abdullah al-Muhajir, also known by his former name of José Padilla, are numerous. They include jailing him without charges, refusing to allow him to see a lawyer, and stat-

Tel Aviv also faces war weariness among a growing layer of Jews who are repulsed by the murderous acts of the government and are beginning to see the Israeli state as a deathtrap for them. Recent declarations by dozens of Israeli soldiers denouncing assaults on the occupied territories point to the challenges that the rulers must face at home.

The criminal pledges of Israeli politicians to retaliate a thousand fold for every Jew killed, and calls for an all-out war against Palestinians only widens the deadly trap that Israel represents for Jews. As long as the terror imposed by the Israeli government, and the denial of the Palestinians' right to self-determination continues, there will always be Palestinian toilers who resist, and give their lives in struggle.

The *Militant* backs the struggle for a democratic, secular Palestine. From the beginning, the goal of the Palestinian resistance has been the destruction of the colonial settler state. This remains the aspiration of the overwhelming majority in spite of conciliatory moves by the Palestinian Authority of floating a "two-state" solution.

It is only the call for a democratic, secular Palestine that is capable of mobilizing the widest number of Palestinians and working people who are Jews in a revolutionary struggle to bring down the Israeli state.

Revolutionary-minded fighters the world over are being introduced to the communist movement through Pathfinder books and *New International*—in countries where socialist parties exist; at book fairs from Tehran to Havana; at international events related to the World Federation of Democratic Youth; through *Militant* reporting trips abroad; and many other avenues.

The field is wide open to get out these and other books by revolutionists. In spite of accelerated moves by Washington to try to curb workers' rights, the political space for workers to organize resistance to the employers' assaults and discuss revolutionary ideas remains open.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Stalinism—which masqueraded as communism while subordinating the class struggle and national liberation movements to Moscow's attempt to find an accommodation with imperialism—is no longer the roadblock it once was for the construction of proletarian parties. Workers and youth involved in resistance against the assaults by the employers and their governments are beginning to reach out and find each other, and start down the tumultuous road of building a common international movement.

Socialist workers and Young Socialists in the United States and internationally have already begun using several of the new publications, studying them as part of intensive socialist summer schools. They are gaining a deeper understanding of the need to prepare proletarian parties in anticipation of battles to come in the years and decades ahead. Using that precious time today to advance that process is a precondition to leading working people and their allies to overturn capitalism and take political power during periods of sharp social crisis and imperialist war.

ing that he may not be able to confront his accuser in court.

Despite a new federal court ruling declaring the INS's secret hearings on cases of immigrants jailed in New Jersey illegal, *la migra* still refused to carry out the court order to open the proceedings.

As the U.S. rulers pursue this course abroad and at home, their attempts to carry out military strikes and erode workers' rights will run into resistance from working people. The tough talk and brutal actions of the Democratic and Republican party politicians are not some passing phase. It is the real face of U.S. imperialism and an indication of the future it holds for humanity.

It is the kind of world where a wealthy oil man from Texas who happens to be the U.S. president will start talking about people being on the wrong side of the tracks. In the United States, being from "the wrong side of the tracks" has traditionally meant that you are a working person, often Black, and therefore can't fit in the world of the rich, who live on the "right" side of the tracks. Talk of running people down and bringing them to justice has a certain ring to it as well, one that does not sit well with large sections of the working class and oppressed nationalities in the United States.

Both at home and abroad it is working people who are ultimately the target of the imperialist assault. Organizing today to join the struggles of working people against the brutalities and attacks by the bosses and the bipartisan gang in Washington; expanding the distribution of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Pathfinder books among working people and youth; and building proletarian parties is the surest way to prepare for the social battles down the road that are being bred by imperialism's world disorder.

Why it is wrong to target India as a prison house of nations

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

In his letter printed on page 14, reader John Smith comments on the *Militant*'s coverage of the conflict between India and Pakistan. In reporting and analyzing the unfolding situation, the *Militant* has sought to address the question of how to renew the fight for national unification as part of the historic line of march by working people to conquer political power from the local capitalist class and the imperialist powers that stand behind them.

Smith asks whether "the Indian bourgeoisie has turned India into a prison house of nations." The phrase was used by V.I. Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Party, to define the imperialist Russia of the Czars.

The Czarist empire was founded on the military conquest of peoples throughout Central Asia and Eastern Europe. Lenin pointed to the "Great Russian chauvinism" that marked relations from Moscow to these subject peoples.

It was only with the proletarian revolution of October 1917 and the formation of the new Soviet republic that oppressed nationalities within the former empire were able to win self-determination. The Bolshevik-led Communist International also stood shoulder to shoulder with the oppressed nationalities in Asia and the Middle East in the struggle against imperialist domination.

Unlike Czarist Russia, India is not an imperialist power. A country of vast size and diverse populations, it remains a semicolonial country exploited by imperialism and marked by both the achievements and limitations of its independence struggle and battle for national unification.

Most semicolonial countries today have unresolved questions of national rights; how could they not. It is only the proletarian revolution, not capitalist governments, that can begin resolving these questions. Popular revolutionary governments of working people have no interests in maintaining national oppression since they represent the class interests of workers and farmers. It is the profit-driven and dog-eat-dog system of capitalism which benefits from the divisions among the toiling population.

Whatever the divisions and discrimination encouraged by its capitalist rulers, India is home to not just Hindus but many national and religious groupings. Some 140 million Muslims live within its borders—almost equaling the total population of Pakistan.

The *Militant* has condemned the Indian government's repression of oppressed peoples, such as the Indian army's notorious and bloody attack on the Golden Temple in 1984, in which thousands of Sikhs were killed. Such actions are a setback to the fight for unity among working people of all nationalities and beliefs.

Revolutionaries also oppose, and point to the danger of, the development of Hindu nationalist forces, like the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which has a record of encouraging attacks on Muslim communities like the recent assaults on Muslims in Gujarat province. As Smith writes, such forces are used by the Indian bourgeoisie to divide and rule the country's working people.

Kashmir

The history of the partition of the Indian subcontinent by British imperialism, the blow it dealt to the unfolding revolutionary struggle there, and how Pakistan was formed as a spearhead of imperialism against the Indian revolution was addressed in "What's behind the India-Pakistan conflict" in the January 21 issue.

Threatened by rebellions throughout its empire, the weakened British colonial power was forced to grant nationhood to India in 1947. The old colonial setup could not be maintained in face of a powerful movement for independence, in which hundreds of thousands of workers were playing a growing part. That movement had begun to point the way forward to unite working people around their common national interests.

But London sought to keep the economic, political, and military influence it could. Collaborating with the reactionary Muslim League, the British imperialists pressed for partition. Fearing the growing intervention of the masses in the Indian independence struggle, the bourgeois Congress leadership agreed to the postwar division.

The question of Kashmir goes back to this historic blow dealt to the Indian revolution, which had begun to unite working people across all the old lines of division fostered by the colonial power. India under British rule included 600 princely states. In order to create as much turmoil as possible, London gave the maharajas of these kingdoms, who had ruled in collaboration with the British crown, the right to decide in which of the two countries their territory would lie. In the case of Muslim-majority Kashmir, the Hindu maharajah opted for India.

As fighting broke out, the British governor general Lord Mountbatten accepted the accession, and at the same time proposed that a referendum be held to confirm or reject it. The fighting ended with a UN-brokered cease-fire and with Kashmir divided between the two countries. The two governments agreed to hold a plebiscite on the area's status—a commitment never honored

Continued on Page 5

Unions must break from capitalist politics

Printed below is an excerpt from *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-class Politics and the Trade Unions* by Jack Barnes. The Spanish edition of this book, *El rostro cambiante de la política en Estados Unidos*, is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for June. The item quoted is from the chapter titled "The turn to the indus-

vances the interests of the working class and the oppressed regardless of the profits and prerogatives of the propertied class. That is, they must break from bourgeois politics. Independent working-class political action is the class-struggle alternative to the union officialdom's current class-collaborationist course of subordinating labor's interests to the framework imposed by acceptance of the profit system.

The labor movement can pursue a consistent class-struggle course only by breaking through the illusion that the problems confronting working people can be resolved within the bourgeois electoral setup. This electoral illusion is promoted by the bourgeoisie and its labor lieutenants, who argue that "real" politics is synonymous with election campaigns for public office.

Real politics is the opposite, however; it is concentrated and generalized economics. It is reflected in all the institutions of capitalist society. But it originates in what goes on every day in the clash of class forces in the factories, in the fields, in the streets, and on the battlefields of war. That is where the

Continued on Page 10

trial unions," which is the first section of a resolution adopted by the January 1985 special convention of the Socialist Workers Party. The full text of the resolution appears in *New International* no. 4. Copyright © 1994 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

The unions must chart a course that ad-



Militant/Cappy Kidd

Laid-off meat packers protest at American Meat Packing Corporation in Chicago, Dec. 24, 2001. The struggle for basic needs of workers requires a political instrument independent of the capitalist parties that administer the state for the exploiters.

LETTERS

BHP strike in Australia

I am always grateful for the depth of analysis offered by the *Militant*, and, as an Australian reader, appreciate the opportunity to keep abreast of the activities of the vanguard of the socialist movement in the United States. While I sometimes feel that international coverage is limited, I am writing to express my congratulations for the recent issues, late May through to the current issue, and the international perspective they gave, particularly with regard to events in South America and Israel-Palestine. My thanks.

One suggestion for an upcoming story, perhaps one which is simply awaiting a willing contributor, is the 20-day strike of steelworkers at a BHP plant in Hastings, Victoria, over worker security and entitlements. Last night injuries occurred amongst pickets as police broke lines at 1:00 a.m. BHP has reportedly begun court proceedings against a dozen or so employees involved in the picket.

The mainstream press in Australia has

been largely silent about the proceedings at Hastings and socialists lack a newspaper of the caliber of the *Militant* which covers union, workers', and farmers' issues in depth. As someone concerned about the dangerous lack of workers' consciousness in a country led by a racist, conservative government which preys upon the divisions and insecurities of this country's workers, farmers, and petty-bourgeois, coverage and detailed analysis of events such as these is crucial.

Damian Doyle
Silverwater, Australia

India, Kashmir, Pakistan

Thank you for your coverage on the India-Pakistan situation. Once again the *Militant* has proved its irreplaceable worth in helping me to see a complex crisis from the perspective of the international working class.

I have a remaining disagreement with your analysis.

Your articles have contained no discus-

sion about the pernicious Hindu chauvinism which the Indian bourgeoisie is increasingly wielding in an attempt to divide and rule over a billion urban and rural poor for whom capitalism offers nothing but deepening misery and oppression. The rise of the far-right BJP to power, and the connivance of this party and the Indian state in the recent massacres of thousands of Muslims in Gujarat province, demonstrate that the threat to the secular basis of the Indian state and to the struggle for unification of the Indian subcontinent doesn't come only from the Pakistani dictatorship and its imperialist allies.

So, I want to see your analysis completed! Kashmiris whom I have spoken to here in Sheffield, some of whom have been friendly to the communist movement and all of whom are firm opponents of the imperialist war on Afghanistan and defenders of Palestine, are all of the view that the partition of India in 1947-8 was both inevitable and necessary. They also believe that Indian secularism is a sham and that Muslims have always had a second-class status.

Where does the *Militant* stand on Kashmiri self-determination? Shouldn't the process of national unification of the Indian subcontinent be a voluntary process? Has the Indian bourgeoisie turned India into a prison house of nations?

John Smith
Sheffield, England

The term "coupon clipper" refers to a past age when wealthy individuals "clipped coupons" from bonds, and sent these coupons to the bond issuer in order to collect the interest. I don't know when "coupon clipping" stopped but it certainly doesn't happen any more. I can't imagine that anyone reading this term today understands what it means. I suspect most people would associate it more with working people who "clip coupons" in the daily newspaper to save a few dollars at the supermarket.

Arnold Weissberg
by e-mail

Cointelpro

The June 17 issue of the *Militant* just arrived and its extensive coverage of Washington's efforts to expand secret police powers is right on the mark. You accurately explain that the government's portrayal of these steps as "benign information-gathering exercises" is utterly false.

I would like to call readers' attention to the Pathfinder Press title, *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*. Making effective use of previously secret government documents, author Nelson Blackstock documents many cases that demonstrate what the government did with the powers it now seeks to use again.

Although some of the information contained in the book was headline news when it was first revealed in the mid-1970s, the truth documented in this wonderful title is curiously absent from virtually all of today's press coverage of this subject.

Geoff Mirelowitz
Seattle, Washington

Palestinian struggle

Revolutionary and anti-colonial struggles do not break out peacefully or politely; to free a nation requires sacrifice and bloodshed. Mr. Fritz argued in a letter to the *Militant* that the Palestinians should heed the advice of armchair academics and naysayers of dubious repute rather than adopt "any means necessary" to fight the Israeli/American oppressors.

The Algerians would still suffer under the yoke of the French colonizers, and my Kenyan countrypeople would still chafe under imperial rule had the prescriptions of the pacifists won out over the Algerian revolutionaries and the Mau Mau.

Let us follow the example of such proud African militants, and of Malcolm X, and support the Palestinians without any criticism as they struggle against their cruel masters.

Mr. Fritz claims that Palestinian leftists do not support the strategy of Hamas and the Islamic Jihad, but has no proof. Is he trying to divide the Palestinians, which would only help Israel?

Haywood Djiblome
Washington, D.C.

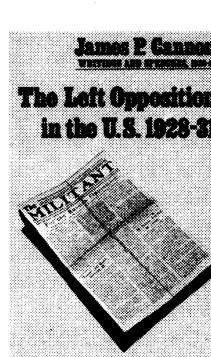
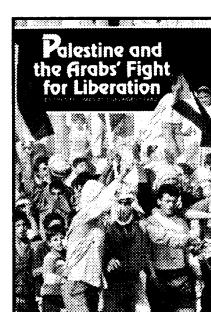
The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people.

Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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Elections in Ireland

I would like to amplify Carol Ball's account of Sinn Fein's electoral gains in the Irish elections on May 17. The election registered a serious increase in support for the revolutionary nationalist party that is leading the struggle for the reunification of Ireland.

Probably the most dramatic results are seen when looking at the regional vote tallies. In the 26-county state as a whole, Sinn Fein more than doubled its first preference vote as compared to 1997, increasing from 45,000 to 120,000 votes. In Dublin the increase was much more dramatic, from 12,000 to 40,000 votes, more than triple the 1997 results.

Last week's election of Sinn Fein Councilor Alex Maskey as mayor of Belfast was another dramatic sign of Sinn Fein growth. What kind of political fight did Sinn Fein wage on the campaign trail? Under the slogan of "An Ireland of Equals," the party fought for four basic rights for all Irish people: the right to housing, the right to free education through the university, the right to free medical care, and the right to economic security and social equality.

The fight for the "Ireland of Equals" has drawn thousands of young people into Sinn Fein and its youth organization and this mass of young fighters put the muscle into the electoral struggle.

Roy Inglee
Elsmere, Delaware

Coupon clippers?

In the June 3 article on Argentina by Patrick O'Neill there appears the term "coupon clipper." I hope you will expunge this term from the *Militant*'s lexicon.

Steelworkers win strike in Australia

BY LINDA HARRIS
AND RON POULSEN

SYDNEY, Australia—After 24 days on the picket lines, maintenance workers at the BHP Western Port steel mill at Hastings, southeast of Melbourne, forced the company to agree to union conditions on the use of contract labor in a settlement June 13. “They tried to force on us casual and part-time work but we got rid of that,” Ian Thomas, a fitter for 17 years at BHP Steel and one of the strike leaders, said later. “We won a victory by not losing anything.”

The dispute gained national coverage after the company started using helicopters and then cops on horseback and in riot gear to try to breach the picket lines as the loss of steel supplies threatened to halt the car industry.

“We got as many people as possible the next night [after the cop attack]. That’s what helped win it for us,” Thomas, the senior plant delegate for the Australian Manufacturing Workers’ Union (AMWU), told the *Militant* in a phone interview June 17. As many as a thousand people converged on the three main picket lines as “unionists like the victorious Tycab strikers and concerned citizens” from the local community and from Melbourne rallied in solidarity, he said. Local butchers, bakers, and other small businesspeople kept the “tent embassy” for the 24-hour picket lines well provisioned.

The 280 maintenance workers, members of the Electrical Trades Union (ETU) and the AMWU had been on strike since May 21. More than 700 production workers at the steel mill, members of the Australian Workers’ Union (AWU), had been given company assurances on job security in a separate agreement and were not on strike. However, AWU national secretary Bill Shorten said his union was withholding ratification of the agreement to support the other unions.

As Thomas explained, “we only stopped trucks [at the main gates], we didn’t try to picket the car parks.” However, “the worst part” was that the trucks that got through were loaded by some AWU workers. This caused “some bitter feelings.”

At 1:00 a.m. on June 12, in “a precision military style attack,” 140 police in full riot gear, including 20 mounted cops and police helicopters, were used to escort a small convoy of trucks through the picket lines. No union drivers would cross the line so BHP brought in Bruce Townsend, a scab organizer notorious for his role in the government’s attempt to bust the Maritime Union during the 1998 national waterfront dispute. Townsend drove the first truck through.

Earlier, the company had used the Federal Court to issue injunctions to keep 75 strikers away from the picket lines. Twelve were then threatened with severe legal action but, as Thomas explained, “we basically disobeyed and kept going.” Later, as part of the dispute settlement, legal action against the 12 was dropped.

Two weeks into the strike, BHP Steel used helicopters to begin airlifting product over the picket lines. Despite dramatic press coverage, the helicopters could lift only the lightest coils of steel. In three weeks 3,000 metric tons were shipped compared to the normal daily output of about 2,500. Even after police breached the picket lines, only 400 tons of steel were moved out by truck.

In response to the police action, ETU state secretary Dean Mighell said that work on the construction site of the new BHP Billiton headquarters could be hit by industrial action. “Members are outraged by BHP’s behavior,” he said.

Mighell said that while it was not an outright victory for the union, there had been “significant movement” on the key issues of job security and the use and control of contractors, casual and part-time labor. A maintenance review of the plant with union involvement was agreed to.

In the last week of the strike, vehicle manufacturers Toyota, Ford, Holden, and Mitsubishi, the BHP steel mill’s biggest customers, warned that the dispute could

leave them without supplies. Stand-downs among Australia’s 12,000 car industry workers were threatened.

In the strike’s aftermath, both Holden and Ford warned they would review commitments to the \$5 billion national vehicle component industry.

Bosses’ threats

Ford Australia president Gregory Polites said the company’s Geelong plant came close to shutting down in the last week of the strike at BHP Steel. Polites has threatened that Ford would buy parts overseas if industrial action made the supply of locally sourced goods unreliable. “We have placed the unions on notice as part of an industry initiative,” he said.

Holden managing director Peter Hanenberger backed a summit on workplace

relations in the car industry, but has also threatened to switch to imported components in response to union industrial action. “If you go from one strike to another and just take into account the figures we lost in the two other strikes you’re losing \$320 million—all in six months,” he said.

In April, a strike at Walker in Adelaide, the major muffler supplier for the car industry, stopped assembly at Holden and Ford. This came six months after the 11-day Tristar dispute in Sydney brought the whole vehicle industry to a halt.

Federal Workplace Relations Minister Anthony Abbott lashed out at deals that end industrial actions like the dispute at BHP Steel. “When you give in to intimidation you do not protect a business, you damage an industry,” he fumed.

Abbott chastised businesses for not follow-

ing through on legal action to curb the power of unions to disrupt operations. “If actions are always dropped . . . in the end the rule of law evaporates,” he said, warning that the result would be “industrial anarchy.” He signaled that the federal government was looking for ways to resume legal actions dropped by companies in dispute settlements.

On the first day back at work since the end of the dispute, BHP bosses have been giving “debriefing meetings” to individual strikers. “They’re trying to demoralize us,” said Thomas, but he affirmed his confidence that the maintenance workers have emerged “strengthened” from the strike.

Linda Harris is a member of the Australasian Meat Industry Employees’ Union. Ron Poulsen is a member of the Maritime Union of Australia.

Thousands in Peru mobilize against privatizations



Thousands of Peruvian workers took to the streets in Arequipa, a city southeast of Lima, to demand jobs and to protest government plans to privatize two power companies. On June 16 President Alejandro Toledo declared a 30-day state of emergency and sent in the army and the police to occupy the city. At least 100 people have been wounded and one killed over several days of protests. Demonstrations have also broken out in other cities in defiance of government repression. The Peruvian regime claims that the \$800 million from the companies’ sale will go to social projects and to pay the budget deficit.

March in Scotland backs Irish struggle

BY CAROL BALL

EDINBURGH, Scotland—Two thousand spirited and confident supporters of the Irish freedom struggle marched here June 8, singing songs and chanting “Brits out now!”

“We’re off our knees,” said one marcher. Most came from the Edinburgh area, as well as several contingents from Glasgow.

Many at the protest honored the Irish nationalists imprisoned by the British imperialists who, in 1981, went on a hunger strike to demand political status. Around 50 marched behind a large banner saying “Lochee remembers the Hunger Strikers.” One marcher explained that Lochee is a community in Dundee, Scotland, that used to be known as “little Tipperary” because of the number of Irish immigrants who lived there.

People at the march also expressed solidarity with the Palestinian struggle by wearing Palestinian scarves or carrying Palestinian flags.

The action was organized by the James Connolly Society, which has been involved in a long-standing struggle for their right to hold the march and to fly Irish flags at the demonstration.

Connolly, born and raised here, was a revolutionary socialist and central leader of

the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin against British rule in Ireland. Along with 13 other leaders, he was sentenced to death and shot by Britain for his part in the uprising.

This year the city mobilized large numbers of police, who refused to let anyone join the march once it had started and manhandled people who moved much outside the body of the demonstration.

After the action Connolly Society leader Jim Slaven congratulated marchers on their dignity and discipline. “It shows what we can do when we put our minds to it,” Slaven said, “in spite of what the police and the fascists say.”

In the early 1990s police would stand back while rightist thugs attacked the march; then the city banned it altogether for two years. In 1993 supporters held a demonstration in defiance of the ban, leading to the conviction of some 30 people for taking part in an “illegal march.” But their action effectively pushed back the city’s bar on holding the protest.

This year organizers successfully challenged police demands that they fly only one Irish flag, known as the Tricolor. Connolly Society members told the *Militant* that cops harassed them while they posted flyers for the protest. One marcher explained that he

had joined the action because police raided his next door neighbor’s home in the middle of the night in connection with the march. “I thought I’d better come on the march to find out what it was all about,” he said.

The ruling class in Scotland has used systematic discrimination against Irish people to divide and weaken the working class. This has mainly been whipped up on religious grounds, pitting “Protestant” against “Catholic” workers. As the confidence of workers in Scotland of Irish background has grown with the progress of the struggle in Ireland, a section of the ruling class is trying to adjust to this reality and assimilate those of Irish descent.

On May 29, for example, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland passed a motion that it “regrets any part played in sectarianism by our Church in the past.” The church referred to its 1923 report on “The Menace of the Irish Race to Our Scottish Nationality,” which accused the Irish Catholic population of taking jobs from Scots and being the principal cause of drunkenness, crime, and financial imprudence and called for control of immigration and deportation. “It is time to consign bigotry to the history books, where it belongs,” said the church

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